COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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George Rose, Secretary of the Treasury, under the late minister, Pitt, states, in a pamphlet, entitled "A Brief "Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, &c." that the whole of the voluntary contributions in France amounted to but "a trifle more than the free gift of an English manufacturer to the Voluntary Contributions for carrying on the last war" (by which war commerce was increased instead of diminished), "the single subscription of which manufacturer, in one payment at the Bank of England, was "10,000l." The writer adds, that he "feels infinite satisfaction in publishing to the world the name of "Robert Peele, Esq. of Bury, Lancashire, who thus exalted the national character." The writer does, however, omit to state, that, in a very few months after this free gift was made, to the exaltation of the national character, the said English manufacturer was created a Baronet.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PEACE.—— It appears, that, within these few days, the sort of pacific ogling, that had been going on for some time, between France and us, has been put an end to. But, a publication, in the French official paper, "the Moniteur," of the 7th instant, does, in an indirect way, let us know what are the views and intentions of Napoleon with respect to peace.——This publication is a commentary upon the king of England's Declaration, issued in answer to that of the Emperor of Russia; and, through this channel, we are given to understand, that a formal recognition, on our part, of the "Liberty of the Seas," will not be insisted upon, at the ensuing peace. This way of conveying his sentiments to us, and of letting us know his intentions, is, to say the least of it, unworthy of the man who calls himself, and who really is, the conqueror and lawgiver of Europe.——I look upon no other part of the commentary as being of any importance. I care not what he says of, or what he does to, Prussia or Russia or Austria or Hanover or any other of the countries of Germany or Italy. I leave the disputes about the treaty of Tilsit and Lord Lauderdale's mission to be settled by those, who think that reasoning about rights and wrongs has any thing to do with the termination of our war with France. I see, in Napoleon, a man who has conquered the continent of Europe; whose mind is firmly bent upon the conquest of this kingdom; who was in hopes of being able so to embarrass us, as to induce us to give up those maritime rights, without exercising which it is impossible that we should resist his power for any length of time; who has now perceived, that he cannot, at present, frighten us into a formal surrender of those rights; and who has, therefore, taken the circuitous way, above-mentioned, to let us know, that he will not now insist upon that point.——Let us now see the part of the paper, which relates to this matter. It comes after a quotation from that part of the Declaration of the king, wherein he says, that he will, in spite of all combinations against him, assert those rights, the exercise of which has maintained the maritime power of England. Upon this passage it is, that the Moniteur makes the following remarks.——"That which has "maintained the maritime power of Eng-"land has not been tyrannical principles or "maxims, but the policy, the energy, the "good sense, and the prudent conduct of "your ancestors; it is the divisions which "they have often had the address to scatter "on the continent. That which will es-"sentially contribute to its destruction is "the thoughtlessness, precipitancy, vio-"lence, and silly arrogance of their succes-"sors. The Emperor of Russia wishes for "a maritime peace. Austria, France, and "Spain participate in these sentiments. "You have declared that the negociation "with France 'was only broken off upon "points affecting the interests of Russia.' "Wherefore, then, we again ask, do you "continue the war? Why, it is because "you do not wish for peace."——Let us imitate the Moniteur, and dispatch as we proceed. "Tyrannical principles" is a phrase of doubtful meaning, in this case; because, what you call tyrannical, we do not; and, while we thank you for the just applause, which you bestow upon our ancestors, we must insist, that it is merited, only because they held, and resolutely acted upon what you are pleased to call "tyrannical principles;" for, from the time that this country bore the name of England, it claimed a right of sea dominion, as absolute as that which any sovereign, or state, has upon the land; and, the fault, nay, the crime, of their descendants has been, that they have, step by step, receded from this claim, placing England, in respect to maritime rights, upon the same footing with the other states of Europe, yielding, by little and little, to the newfangled code of maritime laws, hatched in the universities of Germany, by the professors pensioned by Denmark, Russia, France, and Holland. Our

" ancestors," of whose " policy, energy, " and good sense" you speak, would have made war for their whole life long, rather than have suffered the powers of the continent to encroach upon the maritime dominion of England; it is, therefore, an unlucky choice in you to appeal from us to them, who speak to us from the grave, and reproach us for having already, dastard-like, given up, what they, at all hazards, through all troubles and revolutions, so resolutely preserved.——And what is there in the principles of our maritime rules, which savour of " tyranny ?" You think it no tyranny to erect a kingdom of Westphalia, in virtue of your right of conquest. Indeed, king Jerome expressly tells his new subjects, that it is upon that right he comes to reign over them. The same is your plea in all the countries upon the continent of Europe; and, I am by no means disposed to dispute its validity. Conquest gives right of dominion. It is so; it always has been so, from the time of Joshua to the present day; and it always must be so. But, if you claim this right upon the land, why are not we to claim it upon the sea? There is no difference in the two cases, that I can perceive, except this, that, while it is notorious, that your conquests are not at all necessary to the defence of France, it is equally notorious, that to exercise dominion upon the sea is absolutely necessary to the defence of England. To say, that the sea is not liable to the same rules as the land is absurd. It suits you to call the sea the " high-way of nations," because it is upon the sea alone that we have power to annoy you, or to defend ourselves; but, can it be maintained, with any shew of reason, that a nation surrounded by the water, a considerable part of its property and population being always upon that element, shall have no rights there other than those possessed in common with continental nations? You may as well attempt to persuade us, that the birds and the beasts have as much right to the use of the waters as the fish have.——The next passage of these remarks of the Moniteur is well worthy of attention. " It is because you do not wish " for peace that you raise useless questions. " France, Austria, Spain, Holland, Naples, " say, as well as the Emperor of Russia, " that they proclaim alike the principles of " the armed neutrality. Those powers " have, doubtless, the right to declare the " principles which are to be the rule of " their policy; they have the right to say " on what conditions it becomes them to be " your enemies, or neutral. You, you " proclaim anew the principles of your maritime laws. Well, then! This opposition of principles will not be an impediment to the re-establishment of peace. " They have on neither side any effect during peace; they have no application except when you are at war with a maritime power; but in that case each government has the right and power to consider the first violation of its flag as an act of hostility. The circumstances in which you will then find yourselves will determine your conduct then. If it is with France that you are at war, you will not judge her a power sufficiently feeble to render it indifferent to you whether you draw other enemies upon you, and you will shew some consideration for the rest of Europe. You did not venture to insult the flags of every power, till you had the address to arm all the continent against France. It was then your maritime principles were changed; and they became more unjust and more violent, in proportion as your continental connections became more contracted, or your allies maintained with more difficulty the struggle in which you had engaged them. It was thus that when Russia was obliged to collect all her force against the French in Poland, you violated her flag, and refused her, in respect to her commercial treaty, concessions which you shewed yourselves disposed to grant when she had no longer any enemies to combat. The powers of the continent, in proclaiming anew the principles of the armed neutrality, do but announce the maxims upon which they purpose to act in the next maritime war. You cannot prevent their directing their policy as they understand it; they exercise in this the right which appertains to all governments, and to the usurpation of which they would have nothing to oppose but the ultima ratio regum. On your part, you proclaim the principles of your maritime laws, that is, the maxims which you will employ in your next war. The continent has no interest in demanding from you either declarations or renunciations. Declaration would have no effect, from the moment you might think you could forget them with impunity. Renunciations are without an object, since we cannot renounce what we do not possess. If we judge what you will do, by what you have hitherto done, we may conclude, that you will not require from the powers of the continent, either declaration or renunciation; and as they will demand none from you, there is hence no question to discu

" no difficulty to resolve; there is nothing " which can retard for a day the blessings " of peace."——This is, I think, as palpable a *sneaking* as I ever met with in all my life. As awkward a one, too, as it is possible to conceive. Mr. Talleyrand's good genius certainly did not predominate in the hour when these notes were penned. What! all the boasting about " *conquering* the li- " berty of the seas" come to this! Why not have told us, at once, that you found that you had got hold of the wrong horn; that you had been deceived; that you, therefore, gave up the design of forcing us to yield the right of search: why not act thus, and not attempt to sneak out of the difficulty, by a shuffling trick like this? The Emperor of Russia is put forward to bear the brunt: it is his words that have such and such a meaning: you seem to have completely forgotten all Napoleon's threats and vows upon the same subject: you seem to wish to make the world forget, that he has pledged himself to the continent of Europe to " conquer the " liberty of the seas;" and, if a peace were now made, at a moment when we, in fact, exercise a complete maritime dominion, what would become of this pledge, unless we were made to renounce that dominion? But, let us see, how the poor Emperor of Russia stands, as to this matter. He (wise and valiant prince!) has declared (see Vol. XII. p. 896), that " he abrogates, for ever, " the convention of 1801; that he pro- " claims a-new the principles of the armed " neutrality, that monument of the wisdom " of the Empress Catharine, and binds him- " self never to recede from that system." Now, who would not have thought, from this, that this wise man was resolved to have a share of the glory of " conquering the li- " berty of the seas?" Not at all, it seems; and that he only meant to say, that, in the next war after this, he would act upon the principles of the armed neutrality; and, of course, that, if England should set those principles at nought, he would again pro- claim them a-new as to be acted upon by him, in the next war after that. Verily this is almost too foolish to be believed of the " young and noble-minded and high- spirited monarch," who, with the other Russia, " breathed his vows and plighted his troth, over the tomb of the great Frederick, at Potsdam."——But, it appears now, that there is " nothing to re- nounce." What was it, then, that Napoleon so often talked of " conquering?" To conquer a thing is to obtain it by force: to take it from an enemy, or to compel that enemy to give it up to you. Now, you accuse us of having arrogated to ourselves the exclusive freedom of the seas; take it from us you cannot, or, at least, you acknowledge that you have not done it yet; and, if you do not make us give it up, it is clear that you do not conquer it; so that, your declaration, that this question need not be agitated in negociations for peace, amounts to a complete abandonment of the promise, to fulfil which your word has, a hundred times, been pledged.——You affect to regard the Emperor of Russia's declaration as having no reference to the present war, because he is engaged in the war, and, therefore, cannot be now affected by our maritime dominion; but, you forget, surely, that the neutrals are affected by it, and he through the sides of the neutrals. I might say neutral, for there is but one; but, then, that one is mighty, as long as she is neutral, having more merchant shipping than all the continent of Europe put together, Holland only excepted. Now, is it of no importance to espouse the cause of this great neutral state; to apply the principles of the armed neutrality to her; to insist upon her " neutrality being respected," in his sense of the words; and, not to make peace with us, until we do so respect it? Is this of no importance? Are the poor fellows, who live across the Atlantic, and who are passing non importation acts and building log-houses and mud-forts and gun-boats, wherewith to aid you in " conquering the freedom of the " seas;" are these poor fellows, after all their toasting with you at Petersburgh and Rochefort, following the example of the imperial toast at Tilsit, to be left in the lurch to " conquer the liberty of the seas" single handed? Since, however, this is the real meaning of the Emperor of Russia, we certainly shall very soon come to an accommodation with him: if he means not to act upon the principles of the armed neutrality during war, we shall have no objection at all to his cherishing them, with all his paternal and princely care, during peace. ——The conclusion of the remarks of the Moniteur glance at what we may be disposed to demand. " If however, you " should raise the strange and novel preten- " sion of imposing upon France, and the " other powers of the continent, by an act " of your will alone, the obligation of sub- " scribing to your maritime laws, this is as " if you were to require that the legislature " and sovereignty of Russia, France, and " Spain, should be transported to London " —a fine prerogative for your parliament. " It would be the same as if you were to " proclaim everlasting war, or as if you

" were to fix as the termination of war the " moment when you should have seized on " St. Petersburgh, Paris, Vienna, and Ma- " drid. But if this be not at the bottom of " your sentiment, there is no further ob- " stacle to peace: for, according to your " own expressions, 'negotiations were bro- " ken off on points which touched imme- " diately not the interests of his Britannic " Majesty, but those of his Imperial Ally:' " for the Imperial Ally of his Britannic " Majesty, has informed you, that peace " is henceforth the principal end of his " wish, the principal object of his in- " terest." Yes, but, though we did (very foolishly, I allow,) make the Emperor of Russia's interests an impediment to peace, during the negociation of Lord Lauderdale, it does not follow, I think, that, now that he wishes for peace, as the ally of France, that that circumstance alone ought to induce us to make peace.—No, we do not want to see any " sovereignty transported to Lon- " don." We have quite sovereigns enough here; but, we have all a great desire, not to see the sovereignty of England transported to France; and, if we make peace now, leaving France the absolute mistress of all the continent, and with full leisure and means to stock the harbours of Denmark, Holland, Portugal, and Spain with ships of war, we can, without being gifted with prophetic powers, clearly perceive, that it could not be long before such a transporta- tion would take place. Therefore it is, that we do see an obstacle to peace, though we wish for that event; an insurmountable ob- stacle to peace, while Holland in particular remains under the controul of France. We do not wish you and your friends and allies to " subscribe to our maritime laws." We only want you to evacuate Holland and Denmark and Spain and Portugal; to take away your troops to a certain distance, and to leave the people to do as they please with their own countries respectively. Till this, or something like this be obtained, what is the use of peace to us? It can be only the name of peace; for, we must arm again in a year, or be conquered. We do not want to conquer you. We, the people of this kingdom, care nothing at all about the manner, in which you may surround France with subaltern principalities and kingdoms. It is no matter to us whether you make Mr. Talleyrand or his valet a prince. You may have as many king Eu- genes and king Jeromes as you please; and we know not that the change is for the worse. But, we ourselves wish to remain here by the name of Englishmen, and to have no rulers of your setting up, entertain- ing a confident hope, that all the alteration wanted here we are, without any of your help, quite able to effect. For this reason it is, that we dread such a peace as would leave all the continent bound in your chains, and all the harbours, dock-yards, and naval arsenals at your command. Either, there- fore, you ought to be made to restore a real independence to the countries above-named, or, to stipulate, that no ships of war shall be built in those countries, or sail out of their harbours, during peace. It is useless to tell us, that this is " to proclaim eternal " war." Such a phrase is nonsense; be- cause we must all (not excepting Napoleon) die at no very distant day; but, however long the war may last, though it were to descend to our great grand-children, they would say as we now say, that war, with all its evils, is preferable to being conquered by France. ——The question with you is: "*war*, or " *peace?*" But, with us, the question is " *war*, or *slavery to France?*" That is to say, if you refuse the conditions above sug- gested; for, without those conditions, peace and independence we could not enjoy. This vast difference between your situation and ours ought never to be lost sight of. You risk nothing by peace, upon terms such as these; but we risk every thing, without those terms. If you are ready to make peace upon such terms, our ministers will shew themselves the tools of low selfish passions, if they do not give us peace; but if you refuse such terms, they will certainly have our support in carrying on the war. ——As to the cause of this change in your tone towards England, it lies not very deep- ly hidden. You have now subdued the continent; you have pushed your commer- cial prohibitions to their utmost extent; and you have found, that our means continue as great as ever, and that, so far from being fear-stricken at the peace of Tilsit, we have since that event, demonstrated less dread than before. The truth is (and you perceive it), that, instead of profiting from the war of the continent, as you always asserted, and perhaps thought, those wars were a continual drain upon the fruits of our indus- try; and, as lately conducted by your ene- mies, a continual deadener of our spirit. Their cause we made our own; their defeat we could not avoid considering as the defeat of ourselves; and, by degrees, forgetting the glorious example of our ancestors, and even overlooking the means which God has given us for our protection, we at last came to that state of mind, which led us to con- clude, that the fate of England was to be

decided upon the plains of Moravia and Poland. The peace of Tilsit, after having stunned us for a moment, gave a new turn to our thoughts; and, I hope, and believe, that the historian will have it to record, that, taught by this event to look at home, to consider the immense resources, natural as well as acquired, of our country; the strength arising from the industry, the patient enterprise; the valour; the confidence unmixed with suspicion, of her people; the mass of means collected upon so comparatively small a spot, and means, too, so manageable, so easily brought into operation and wielded against every foe: that, thus taught to consider, we looked back with shame to the days, when foolish or wicked ministers had made us believe, that our existence as a nation depended on the caprice of some half-ideot upon the continent, or upon the intrigues of a French or German strumpet, whose friendly protection we had purchased with sweat and with blood; that, from a contemplation of our past follies, we came to wise and manly resolutions for the future; that we explicitly declared our resolution, to maintain the dominion of the sea, in all its rigour, since our enemy had obtained the dominion of the land; and, that from this we did not, in the smallest particle, desist, until we had compelled that enemy, who had repeatedly vowed our destruction, so far to relax in his rights, obtained by conquest, as to enable us to make peace with him, without danger to our independence or injury to our character.—— The Morning Chronicle, however, appears to see the matter in quite a different light. He has eagerly seized hold of this new tone of France, as being a proof of a pacific disposition on her part. Nay, he looks upon the abandonment of the pretension to compel us to surrender our maritime rights; he looks upon this as a "*concession*," and tells us boldly, that now the obstacle to negotiation being removed, our ministers will, at once, set about the work of peace, unless they are resolved upon carrying on war to the utmost extremity. A "concession!" Is then, the abandoning of any pretension whatever is a concession? Napoleon has, I believe, in so many words, said that he would destroy this new Carthage, which we, from vulgar tradition, call England; and, now that he condescends to let us know, that he does not mean absolutely to destroy us, we are, of course, to look upon it as a concession. Napoleon has conceded so far as to suffer us to exist. "The ministers will enter upon negociation, if they be not resolved to carry on the war "to extremity." Upon negociation? To be sure they will, whenever they see a fair opening for it, though it would be unwise to shew any very great eagerness. But, though they may, and ought, to be ready to negociate; and though I agree, that the titles and other assumptions of Napoleon and his family ought to be no obstacle; yet, it does not follow, that peace must be made, because he has now graciously condescended to say, that he does not mean to force us to give up our maritime rights. Now, as before, the question whether peace be proper, will depend wholly upon the terms.——The Morning Chronicle has an argument in favour of peace, to which, I think, none but a very "desperate politician" would have resorted; namely, the distressed state of the cloth-makers in Yorkshire, who are, as he affirms, all thrown out of employment in consequence of the demand for cloth for exportation having ceased. I have proved, as clearly as the fact would admit of proof (see Vol. XII. p. 875), that the total number of persons, employed in manufacturing goods for the foreign market, and in exporting those goods, did not amount, in England and Scotland, to more than 400,000, including women and children, from the cradle upwards. Mr. Spence, in a third and enlarged edition of his pamphlet, availing himself, as he acknowledges, of my information and arguments, has, from a more deliberate calculation, concluded, that the number does not exceed 300,000. Now, supposing the whole 300,000 to be thrown out of employment, it is only adding about one fifth to the paupers already in England, Wales, and Scotland. The evil would be very great, I allow. God forbid, that I should speak of it with levity. But, the effect would be to "starve" nobody, the parish paupers being full as well fed and clothed as a great part of those, who are not paupers. The same quantity of food and fuel would remain in the kingdom; and, I think, it will not be contended, even by the Morning Chronicle, that clothing would be dearer. The effect would be this: those who, from being able to earn their living, would descend into the list of paupers, would become somewhat debased, and those who possessed the real property of the country, would be obliged to support them, a considerable part of the burthen falling, as in justice it ought, upon those districts and those persons, who have been enriched by the labour of the manufacturers now thrown out of employment. We are constantly reminded of the immense increase of Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, and other

places. "All this," say the partizans of commerce, "is the effect of what you wish "to see perish." All this, we say, is an evil, and, amongst other reasons for this opinion, we urge that of its being a hot-bed for luxury and pauperism. But, laying this question aside, for the present, all these buildings, all this suddenly acquired wealth has arisen out of what? The labour of the manufacturers; the labour of those, who, as the Morning Chronicle asserts, are now starving for want.....of what, think you? Not of food and raiment, for it is clear that the war takes none of that away; but of *work*; "actually starving for "want of work!" That is to say, the poor wretches have, by their labour, enriched their respective neighbourhoods, and now, that their masters have, for a while, no demand for their labour, they will suffer them to die with hunger and with cold. Oh, no! Not so, at any rate, unless, indeed, which is rather improbable, all the justices of the peace, in the districts alluded to, be master-manufacturers. The food and raiment is all here, just as completely as it would have been, if commerce had received no check; and, I am in no fear, that the ousted manufacturers will not receive, generally speaking, as much of it now as they did before; the only difference being this; that, while they gave work for their food and raiment, their masters and the land-owners derived great profit from the existence of the manufacturers, whereas they will now derive no profit from it, but will be obliged to give back part of their profits to support those manufacturers without labour, than the justice of which nothing can, I think, be more evident. Not so, however, appear to think the master-manufacturers and land-owners of the districts in question. They fail not, when it suits their purpose, to proclaim the advantages which they derive from commerce; they refer us, and not in the most modest manner, to their opulence and greatness, and their spinning-jenny Baronets; but, the moment their profits are checked, they complain of the miseries of the poor souls, upon the fruit of whose labour they have fattened. They call them "the starving poor," as if they had nothing more to do with them. Having no more profit from their labour, these poor are no longer theirs. They are melted down, all at once, into the mass of the nation. From the operation of a similar principle it is, that we never see a Quaker hanged; because, the moment any of the members of that sect are discovered to have a hanging propensity, they are "read out of meeting," and when the poor wretches come to their foreboded end, they belong to the Church of England, which, like the nation, is obliged to own all those who are disowned by every individual and every sect. But, the Quakers have another principle, which the knights of the shuttle do not seem anxious to adopt; that is, that it is their duty to maintain all their own poor, a principle, which, in the country where I have been intimate with them, they act upon in the most kind and liberal manner, an example, which, if it be not beneath the dignity of the knights, I would beg leave to point out for their imitation at this time.——Here it is that the shoe pinches. This is the cause of the petitions for peace, with which we are now threatened. It is not "starving manufacturers," that we hear crying for food and raiment; but, the avaricious clamour of those who have been enriched by their labour, perceiving that now they shall be compelled to give up a part of their riches to keep life in those, by whose labour they have been enriched; rather than do which they would see their country humbled in the dust.——We are told of the "respectability" of the petitioners; that is to say, of their riches. To be sure. The more property a man has, the more he has to pay towards the parish rates; so that these petitions are, in fact, petitions against the poor-rates, under the guise of feeling for the poor; just as the long parliament made use of the king's name in a war against his authority and life. Pass an act to divide the poor rates of the manufacturing districts amongst all the parishes of England; make all those, who have not shared in the profits of commerce, share in the burdens which it thus, occasionally brings; do something so manifestly iniquitous as this, and, though I will not say, that the knights of the shuttle will not grumble at the suspension of their profits, I will engage that they shall talk no more about petitions for peace.——Thus far I have treated the matter upon a supposition, that all the 300,000 persons employed in manufacturing for exportation are now actually thrown out of employment, and are living, and must continue to live, in a state of pauperism. But, it is notorious, that much more than two-thirds of the export trade still exists, though it will, in all probability, be further diminished. To leave nothing, however, in dispute upon this score, I content myself with taking for granted that even the "maniac" will not deny that a part of the export trade will continue; and, then, it follows of course that a part of the 300,000 persons above described, will not be caused to "starve

by the war. Another part of them we may reasonably suppose, will, rather than "starve" accept of the forty guineas, which Lord Castlereagh's wise military plan has caused to be the bounty for serving in the militia, especially as, to the said forty guineas, are added very good food, clothing, and lodging, during the time of service, without the least possible danger to life or limb. I will mention no more particulars, but refer the reader to the Register, Vol. XII. pages 837 and 875, and to Mr. Spence, 3d edition, page 66 and onwards, where, as I flatter myself, he will see it clearly proved, that the total loss of foreign commerce, and, of course, the throwing out of employment of all the manufacturers, employed in making goods for exportation, could not produce any injury to the nation, nor any hardships of long duration to the labouring manufacturers, though it would certainly considerably lessen the profits of their masters, would transfer a part of their profits to other classes of tradesmen, and would, there is every reason to hope, prevent any future counting-house minister from creating spinning-jenny Baronets.—— But, after all, what has the situation of the manufacturers, or of any other class of the people, or of the whole of the people, rich as well as poor, in the kingdom; what has it to do with the question of peace, or war, taken in the abstract; unless you come, at once, to the conclusion, that it is better to be conquered than to undergo hardships? If you come to this conclusion, there the matter ends; for, as the enemy's people have told you, that they must now suffer great hardships, having so well proved to you that they can suffer them for almost any length of time; and, as by submitting to suffering themselves, they are able (upon this supposition) to cause you to suffer too; the result necessarily is, that you must be conquered. A petition to the king, therefore, to surrender these islands to Napoleon, because the suffering of the people would thereby be put an end to, would have some sense in it; but, to petition him to restore the blessings of peace, without pointing out the terms, is mere senseless talk, and cannot be fairly ascribed to any but selfish or factious motives. It matters not who is at the helm, or how the war began. These are circumstances which have nothing at all to do with the question. My fear is, that these ministers will, like the Addingtons, make a peace, whenever they find it likely to secure their places longer than they could hold them without peace, though I shall be glad to find, that my fears are groundless. If the country was in the hands of the best men that it can boast, the question of peace would still remain the same; for, however justly they might detest the conduct of their predecessors for a long series of years; however anxious they might be to punish public-robbers, and to prevent their future pillage, of what use would any of, or all, their efforts be, unless they preserved the independence of the country. To be sure, when one reflects upon the shameful waste of the public resources; upon the scandalous abuses that are suffered to exist, and that are openly countenanced and fostered; upon the prodigality that daily insults us with its boasts: when one thus reflects, the devil is apt to tempt one with a wish, which it were useless to describe. But, we must resist this temptation, and resolve, first of all to keep out the foreign foe, and next to crush, as soon as possible, our foes within.——In taking my leave of this subject, I do not like to let slip the opportunity of saying a word or two upon the effect which war has upon the prices of provisions, and, of course, upon those of labour. The last scarcity happened during war; and, I remember it was said by Mr. Fox: "the country *may* be "conquered by a peace, but the people "*must* eat;" a saying which was frequently quoted, about the time, but which certainly discovered not much profundity of reflection in the great orator, from whose lips it proceeded. In Vol. VI. of the Register, page 239, I showed, that, during the last half century, bread had been, upon an average, rather cheaper in war than in peace; and now, after four years of war, wheat sells for sixteen pounds a load. The average price of the quartern loaf was 10½d. during the last peace, and 10½d. was its price on the 28th of last month, as will be seen by the table at the close of the preceding volume. Indeed, one would seek in vain for the reason, whereon the saying of Mr. Fox was founded; for, war has no effect upon the seasons; it does not add to the number of mouths to be fed; if it takes some hands from the plough to wield the musket, it, in this country, brings others to the plough from the shuttle; and, if it neither takes from the quantity of food produced nor adds to the demand for food, where shall we look for a solid reason for the opinion, that war is the cause of dearth of provisions, an opinion which may in some cases, lead to great national calamities?

AMERICAN STATES.——In this number, or in the next, will be inserted the American "non-importation act," the passing of which is intended so materially to aid in that

famous undertaking, "the conquering of "the liberty of the seas," and which, after being suspended, time after time for nearly two years, has, with singular good luck, been put into actual execution, just at the time, when the emperors Napoleon and Alexander have notified to the world, that it is not, at present, their intention to conquer the liberty of the seas.——By a reference to this act, it will be perceived, that, comparatively speaking, few articles of our goods are prohibited; but, particularly, woollens, of which the Americans import little of a fine quality, they, in this act, prohibit the importation of none but the very finest. Yet, the observance of this act, narrow as are the limits of its extent, they would not, either in peace or war, be able to enforce for nine months.——They allow the importation of goods from the Cape of Good Hope, or beyond it; but, that channel will, I should suppose, soon be stopped.—— The chief point for observation, however, at present, is this: that this hostile act was *passed*, as will be seen by a reference to it, on the 18th of April, 1806, a year and a half before the affair of the Chesapeake took place, and long before any of our orders of council, restraining American commerce, were thought of. This act was passed for the obvious, nay, the acknowledged and declared purpose, of compelling England to accede to the demands of America. Of those demands we have before spoken; but, whatever they were, it is of importance to bear in mind, that this act of expected compulsion, this act of, at least, more than dem-hostility, was passed a year and a half before the affair of the Chesapeake took place. Let us not be told, then, that we have stirred up a war with America by our attack upon that vessel, or by our orders of council.——The ground of the non-importation act was, as far as I have been informed, a refusal, on our part, to yield to a demand, made on the part of America, that we should enter into a stipulation, that, in future, "*no American vessel, "of whatever name or description, should, "in any case, be detained, or searched, for "men.*" The author of a pamphlet, entitled "WAR, OR NO WAR," published at New York, in December last, has, by way of stricture upon this demand, the following passage.——"Then, John Stiles may send "a vessel from Philadelphia to Liverpool, "under the American flag, and while lying "there, should four highwaymen, who had "committed robbery with murder, take "vesuge aboard her, they may be com-"pletely protected, and carried to any "place of safety. The civil officers of "Great Britain, aided by the military, may "solicit in vain; or the vessel may become "a transport, and take in a regiment of "Frenchmen to land in Ireland, and should "a British cruiser meet her in the channel, "she must nevertheless pass unmolested; "for no British commander has a right to "*search for men.*——Thus, John Stiles "gains the distinction of being able to "protect the traitor, the murderer, the "robber, the spy or the enemy of any na-"tion, against British authority: for Great "Britain has a right to search his ship *for* "*men.* Few, I believe, will be inclined "to carry the rights of John Stiles so far. "Yet the doctrine, as laid down, and as "contended for by many of the supporters "of our sagacious president, goes com-"pletely this length. Whether the *great* "*man* has actually instructed his ministers "in London to this effect, as his friends say, "is not for me to affirm. But if he has, "I may say with much sincerity, that if "it should not increase my conviction of his "weakness and inconsistency, it would of "his rashness."——The same writer says: "multitudes of English, Scotch, and Irish "sea-faring men become possessed of cer-"tificates of naturalization by purchase, or "by perjury, as soon as they have fairly got "foot on our shores. The fraudulent "manner, in which they are covered, or "attempted to be so, by American protec-"tions, has so often been detected, that "it has brought a serious imputation upon "our national character."—— Now, though the writer, here quoted, may be well disposed towards England, and also of the party opposed to Mr. Jefferson; yet, he would not have ventured to make a statement like this, and at such a time, too, had it not been undeniably true. I cite it merely in corroboration of my own statements upon the subject; for to me the knowledge of the facts has long been familiar.——It is probable that Mr. Jefferson would have contented himself with something short of the "rights of John Stiles;" he would, perhaps, upon our supplication, have so modified the demanded stipulation, as to have left us at liberty to prevent him from sheltering felons in England, and from conveying the enemy's troops to our shores; but, if a whole ship's crew had deserted to his ships, he would have protected them all. The extent of the mischief, which would have arisen to us, from acceding to this demand, sets all calculation at defiance. With our right of search duly executed, and with the consequent continual dread, on

the part of the deserters, of being taken and punished, the Americans have now some thousands of our seamen on board their ships; what would that number be, then, if it were proclaimed, through our fleets and squadrons, that, by solemn treaty, we had bound ourselves not to touch any man, who should be found on board of an American ship, American ships being in all the ports and parts of the world? It is evident, that such a treaty would unman our navy. It would unman any navy; for, where is the sailor, English, American, French, or any other, who would not accept of such offers, if held out to him? But, it was precisely because they knew that it would have this effect, that the Americans demanded it at our hands. To join in the fight they were not disposed. They thought we were hard pressed. They thought England was down, and to use the words of their judge, Rutledge, upon a former occasion, they would gladly have "seized her by the throat"; but, like Falstaff, they had some fears that she might rise again, or, at least, give them a blow in her last convulsive agonies; and, therefore, to unite safety with enterprize, they resolved to proceed in imitation of their great Sangrado-like physician, DR. RUSH, that is to say, insinuate a lancet into her veins, let her bleed, to use one of his phrases, till she was "as white as New-Jersey veal", and, when she became motionless, approach her, and, with the malice of fiends, snigger in her face. This was their plan of operations; this was the design of the "mild, un-"offending, and peaceable American peo-"ple"; and, yet, there are Englishmen, or an Englishman (for, I should hope that the editor of the Morning Chronicle is the only one), who has the assurance to hold out to the public, that this people was to be "won "by concession."——The Courier newspaper has published an extract of a letter, from Capt. WILLAUMEZ to General Turreau, the French minister in the United States, which extract I here insert, after observing, that it is stated, that the Captain met the brig, which he mentions, at sea.——"I "have just apprehended four seamen deserters from the Valeureuse frigate, which "I found on board an American brig, "where they had engaged at seventeen "dollars per month. Now, Sir, if you "can succeed in making the American "Government pay down a compensation "for this misconduct in seducing thus our "seamen, you will punish it by making it "smart in that point in which it feels the "most; viz. its avarice in money, and "with so much the more justice, that "these people have for three years past "been continually injuring our marine, by "seducing our best seamen".——Now, this letter, which bears date, on board the Foudroyant, at the Havannah, 25th October, 1806, is hardly a counterfeit; and, we have never heard of any demands, made, by the American government, upon France, touching this searching for seamen. And yet, why not upon France as well as upon England? "Why, they hate "us and love the French." That is a very good reason for their partial conduct; but a very bad one for our hoping to win them by concessions; by further concessions, I should say; for we have been making concessions to them for fifteen years past. This letter wears all the appearance of authenticity; and the sentiments are precisely those, which the French entertain with respect to the American government, which they despise beyond the power of decent words to express; to a degree, indeed, that I have sometimes thought to surpass the bounds of strict justice. Yet does it cling to them. It's love appears to be attracted and preserved by contempt. The real fact is this, that the Americans hate the French rather more than they hate us, personally; but, they *fear* them, and our cowardly conduct, for several years past; indeed, ever since the peace of 1783, has made them despise as well as hate us. ——I have before given my opinion as to the incapacity of America to carry on war, without producing her own destruction as a federative union of States. I will, now, from the pamphlet, above quoted, shew the reader what is written and published upon the subject, in America. Suppose the author of "WAR, or NO WAR", to be a party opponent of Mr. Jefferson; yet, where facts are stated, and that, too, in such a form, there must be some truth whereon for them to rest; or, at least, it is pretty evident, that they are generally admitted as truths.——"Our "commercial source of finance" (that is to say, the collections at the custom-house) "produces annually somewhat above fifteen "millions of dollars (or £3,375,000). A "very few ships of the enemy might rob "us of it; and not only so, but also lay "our commercial towns in ashes, annihi-"lating our property to an incalculable "amount. If this stream of revenue should "be dried up, where could we look for sup-"port? Where is our system of internal "taxation? Where should we find means "to pay a direct tax should it be levied? "Our commerce once gone, and our means

" of raising ready money are gone with it. " We fortunately have no mines of consi- " derable value; and it is notorious, we " have very little coin remaining in the cof- " fers of our citizens. Hence we can look " to commerce, and to commerce alone, to " fill our treasury; which, without it, would " very soon be empty. The whole of our " revenue at this time arising from other " sources, would not half pay our civil list. " Hence we perceive, we are leaving to the " mercy of every maritime foe, the only " means we have in our power, for an easy " and adequate support of our government. " Let us suppose, that a war with Great " Britain at this moment existed. Whence " should we derive a revenue to carry it on? " From our commerce it will be answered. " But four-fifths of our commerce, to speak " moderately, would be immediately an- " nihilated. From our trading towns, and " banks of deposit. Very well; but would " not our trading towns be either burnt or " plundered? Or supposing, contrary to " reason, that neither of these happened to " any one of them; their business being " interrupted, would they not be obliged to " cast their dependence upon the country " instead of supporting government? How " many who now find full employment, " would be obliged to turn vagrants for " sustenance? How many now in af- " fluence, would soon be reduced to po- " verty? Our doors are open; and the rob- " ber may enter and plunder as he pleases. " Our banks of deposit, however, would af- " ford a temporary supply. But who will " invade private property, to gain an ig- " nominious respite? I grant you, a very " good republican might; but then it would " be only to borrow it; and no one could " be under apprehension but that it would " be scrupulously returned, with interest. " But again, another difficulty would arise. " Our banks contain little else but fictitious " capital; they might emit paper in abun- " dance; yet, in a time of doubt and un- " certainty, what scheme would give it cur- " rency? The stockholder would by no " means find himself exempt from the ge- " neral calamity. On the contrary, his " bubble would burst; and he would tell " you, paper was not silver, nor parchment " gold."——Such is the statement of this writer, and it is, in no respect exaggerated. There is no internal tax worth speaking of. I believe, the post-office is now the only source of internal revenue; and, observe, that four-fifths of the custom duties are collected upon goods going to, or coming from, England and her possessions. The very word *war* (with England), then, takes away four fifths of the whole revenue; nor, let it be forgotten, that nearly one half of this whole revenue is wanted to pay the interest of the national debt. Where, then, if they have war with us, are the stockholders to find their next year's dividends? Are they to come from internal taxes to be imposed? " King Cong " knows well, that it would be safer for him to thrust his head, hydra as it is, into the fire, than attempt to impose internal taxes, the total amount of which should equal a quarter part of the taxes now arising from English goods. How farcical is it, then, to talk of this people making " a navy," and " fortifications," and " raising an army." That they might make an inroad into Upper Canada is probable enough; because the people of Hampshire might easily invade Surrey; but, they will never reach Lower Canada; and, if they were to do it, and to conquer wild woods, seeing that the " liberty of the seas" is not so easily conquered, what would they gain? " They " cry," says the writer above quoted, " for " more land, although we cannot cultivate, " or even raise boundaries to, the fiftieth " part of what we already have in pos- " session: for an extension of jurisdiction " they cry, although, from its enormous " size, the Union is already threatened with " dismemberment."——I have spoken before of the " American navy " and fortifications. In terms very contemptuous certainly; but, as will appear from the next and last extract I shall make from this pamphlet, not beyond the truth.——" The na- " vy has been sold, burnt, and wasted away, " until it has almost disappeared. Our " arms, arsenals and military stores, instead " of receiving considerable augmentation, " have suffered all the diminution of ac- " cident and decay. The fortifications of " our different harbours were in a condi- " tion to prevent our being the derision of " an invading enemy. These have been " demolished, or have mouldered back to " earth, until you can scarcely find a piece " of ordnance mounted for a signal gun. " Where is the ship that has been built? " Where the barrier raised against inva- " sion? Where the preparation for defence " worthy of mention? None is to be found " along our extensive and exposed coast. " The timber and materials for putting " afloat the ships of the line, authorized by " law, are gone with the rest; while the " ruins only remain, to reproach us for our " folly, or as memorials of the desolating " effects of time."——And, this is the people who are going to war, while they cut off,

by barely pronouncing the word war, four fifths of their revenue. This is the people, whom the Morning Chronicle would fain persuade us to fear; would fain persuade us to make new concessions to, in order to appease their wrath.——But, I shall be asked, "how did they carry on war *before*, "without revenue?" Oh, oh! You mean they should go to work again to the making of paper money, and to the taking of people's goods by force with that money, and to the confiscating of the property of Tories (or rich men), and to the paying off old scores with an act of "King Cong;" in short, you mean, that there should be another revolution. That is quite another thing; and, it is a thing, too, which if they do go to war, you will certainly see take place, their war against us (for it is they who make it) being evidently destined to terminate, like the war, which, as the fable tells us, was, by the glasses and dishes combined, made against the hammer.

Botley, Jan. 21, 1808.

KING'S SPEECH.

On Thursday, the 21st of January, 1808, *the two Houses of Parliament having met, the Session was opened by Commission, with the following Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—We have received his Majesty's commands to assure you, that in calling you together at this important conjuncture of affairs, he entertains the most perfect conviction, that he shall find in you the same determination with which his Majesty himself is animated, to uphold the honour of his crown, and the just rights and interests of his people.—We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that no sooner had the result of the negociations at Tilsit, confirmed the influence and control of France over the powers of the continent, than his Majesty was apprized of the intentions of the enemy to combine those powers in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of this kingdom, or to the imposing upon his Majesty an insecure and ignominious peace.—That for this purpose, it was determined to force into hostility against his Majesty, states which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchase their neutrality; and to bring to bear against different points of his Majesty's dominions, the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark.—To place those fleets out of the power of such a confederacy became therefore the indispensable duty of his Majesty.—In the execution of this duty, so far as related to the Danish fleet, his Majesty has commanded us to assure you, that it was with the deepest reluctance that his Majesty found himself compelled, after his earnest endeavours to open a negociation with the Danish government had failed, to authorise his commanders to resort to the extremity of force, but that he has the greatest satisfaction in congratulating you upon the successful execution of this painful, but necessary service.—We are further commanded to acquaint you, that the course which his Majesty had to pursue with respect to Portugal, was happily of a nature more congenial to his Majesty's feelings. The timely and unreserved communication by the court of Lisbon of the demands and designs of France, while it confirmed to his Majesty the authenticity of the advices which he had received from other quarters, entitled that court to his Majesty's confidence in the sincerity of the assurances by which that communication was accompanied.—The fleet of Portugal was destined by France to be employed as an instrument of vengeance against Great Britain. That fleet has been secured from the grasp of France, and is now employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy. His Majesty implores the protection of Divine Providence upon that enterprise, rejoicing in the preservation of a power so long the friend and ally of Great Britain; and in the prospect of its establishment in the new world with augmented strength and splendor.—We have it in command from his Majesty to inform you, that the determination of the enemy to excite hostilities between his Majesty and his late allies, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, has been but too successful; and that the ministers from those powers have demanded and received their passports.—This measure, on the part of Russia, has been attempted to be justified by a statement of wrongs and grievances which have no real foundation. The Emperor of Russia had indeed proffered his mediation between his Majesty and France. His Majesty did not refuse that mediation, but he is confident you will feel the propriety of its not having been accepted until his Majesty should have been enabled to ascertain that Russia was in a condition to mediate impartially, and until the principles of the basis on which France was ready to negociate were made known to his Majesty.—No pretence of justification has been alledged for the hostile conduct of the Emperor of Austria, or for that of his Prussian Majesty.—His Majesty has not given the slightest

ground of complaint to either of those sovereigns, nor even at the moment when they have respectively withdrawn their ministers, have they assigned to his Majesty any distinct cause for that proceeding.—His Majesty has directed that copies of the correspondence between his Majesty's ambassador and the minister for foreign affairs of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, during the negociations at Tilsit, and the official note of the Russian minister at this court, containing the offer of his Imperial Majesty's mediation between his Majesty and France, together with the answer returned to that note by his Majesty's command; and also copies of the official notes, presented by the Austrian minister at this court, and of the answers which his Majesty commanded to be returned to them, should be laid before you.——It is with concern that his Majesty commands us to inform you, that notwithstanding his earnest wishes to terminate the war in which he is engaged with the Ottoman Porte, his Majesty's endeavours, unhappily for the Turkish empire, have been defeated by the machinations of France, not less the enemy of the Porte than of Great Britain. But while the influence of France has been thus unfortunately successful in preventing the termination of existing hostilities, and in exciting new war against this country, his Majesty commands us to inform you that the King of Sweden has resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon his alliance with Great Britain; and that his Majesty entertains no doubt that you will feel with him the sacredness of the duty which the firmness and fidelity of the King of Sweden impose upon his Majesty; and that you will concur in enabling his Majesty to discharge it in a manner worthy of this country. It remains for us, according to his Majesty's command, to state to you that the Treaty of Commerce and Amity between his Majesty and the United States of America which was concluded and signed by commissioners duly authorized for that purpose, on the 31st of December, 1806, has not taken effect, in consequence of the refusal of the President of the United States to ratify that instrument. For an unauthorised act of force committed against an American ship of war his Majesty did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation. But an attempt has been made by the American government to connect with the question which has arisen out of this act, pretensions inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain: such pretensions his Majesty is determined never to admit. His Majesty, nevertheless, hopes that the American government will be actuated by the same desire to preserve the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries which has ever influenced his Majesty's conduct, and that any difficulties in the discussion now pending may be effectually removed. His Majesty has commanded me to state to you, that in consequence of the decree by which France declared the whole of his Majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, and subjected to seizure and confiscation, the produce and manufactures of his kingdom, his Majesty resorted, in the first instance, to a measure of mitigated retaliation; and that this measure having proved ineffectual for its object, his Majesty has since found it necessary to adopt others of greater vigour, which, he commands us to state to you, will require the aid of Parliament to give them complete and effectual operation. His Majesty has directed copies of the orders which he has issued with the advice of his Privy Council upon this subject to be laid before you, and he commands us to recommend them to your early attention.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty has directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, in the fullest confidence that your loyalty and public spirit will induce you to make such provision for the public service as the urgency of affairs may require. His Majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the difficulties which the enemy has endeavoured to impose upon the Commerce of his Subjects, and upon their Intercourse with other Nations, the Resources of the Country have continued in the last year to be so abundant, as to have produced, both from the permanent and temporary revenue, a receipt considerably larger than that of the preceding year.—The satisfaction which his Majesty feels assured you will derive, in common with his Majesty, from this proof of the solidity of these Resources, cannot but be greatly increased, if, as his Majesty confidently hopes, it shall be found possible to raise the necessary Supplies for the present year without any material addition to the Public Burthens.

My Lords and Gentlemen,——We are especially commanded to say to you, in the name of his Majesty, that, if ever there was a just and National War, it is that which his Majesty is now compelled to prosecute.—This War is in its principle purely Defensive. His Majesty looks but to the attainment of a secure and honourable

Peace; but such a Peace can only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon the British Parliament. If, as his Majesty confidentially trusts, you display in this crisis of the fate of the country the characteristic spirit of the British Nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, his Majesty bids us to assure you of his firm persuasion, that under the blessing of Divine Providence, the struggle will prove successful and glorious to Great Britain. We are lastly commanded to assure you, that in this awful and momentous contest, you may rely on the firmness of his Majesty, who has no cause but that of his people, and that his Majesty reciprocally relies on the wisdom, the constancy, and the affectionate support of his Parliament.

IRELAND, AS IT IS.

VINDEX, LETTER II.

SIR,——What has been remarked of the texture of the English language, that it has more anomalies than any other known, may be more truly applied to the oppressed condition of the Irish people. In contemplating the severe and multifarious grievances, which that nation endures, one can easily perceive the universality of oppression; but it is vain to look for that unity or uniformity of cause, that generates the sufferings of other afflicted countries. It is a maxim equally applicable to politics as to physics, that the simpler the cause the less injurious will be the consequence. It is not the single fountain, from which a great river may take its rise, that swells its proud tide, and makes it flow with majesty to the ocean. Various accessary streams feed its progress; and the flood, which it discharges at its mouth, is the accumulation from many sources. The oppression, which flows from any single cause, is simple, and may be light, when spread over the vast surface of society. But, when all the springs of power are opened, when every channel, through which oppression can flow, contributes its contents to swell the common tide, how frightful must be the effects of the desolating inundation. Those, somewhat elevated in rank or station, may escape with little comparative injury, but all the lower orders of the community must be overwhelmed by the flood.—The iron rod of a government falls with most weight upon the objects, most immediately within its reach, and spending its force, as it descends, is scarcely perceptible, when it touches the lowest links of society. The oppression of an overbearing aristocracy partakes, in some degree, of that property of a despotic government, which exempts the lower orders from its severity; but, as it multiplies the sources of infliction, must aggravate the sufferings of a nation. The tyranny of the mass, collecting and concentrating every element of intolerance and arbitrary power, pours forth such a huge flood of oppression, as to overthrow every barrier, and involve all classes of society in one indiscriminate state of misery and degradation. These are the three great sources of national suffering; for to some one of these may be traced the oppression of every nation, whose calamities are recorded in history. Yet not to any one of these, nor to a combination of any, or of all of them, are the miseries of the Irish nation to be ascribed. The wretchedness of that people appears written, in legible characters, over the face of the land; but, whilst the effect is thus visible in the light of day, the obscurity of midnight darkness envelops, and conceals the real cause from view. Many truths, various errors, and much misrepresentation have been published upon this subject, but no writer, that I have consulted, has, according to my opinion, pointed out the radical, the remote source of all the evils, that mar the internal quiet and prosperity of that country. Catholic disabilities, and the hardships, arising from tythes, have been, and are, at present, much insisted on, as the great causes of Irish grievance. It would be false, to assert, that the Irish nation has no just ground of complaint, no well founded claim for redress, under these heads; but, it would betray a gross ignorance of the subject, a total disacquaintance with the real state of the people of Ireland, to contend, that the removal of either, or both, could have any permanent effect upon the internal tranquility of that country. These are but symptoms; the disease lies deeper. The force of habit, or the flattery of self-love, may render those, who are most affected, least sensible of the existence of the disease. The patient, mistaking the symptoms for the complaint, looks with confidence to re-establishment upon their removal; yet, unless the physician eradicate the peccant cause from the constitution, the relief is but temporary, the relapse certain, and often fatal. In tracing the real source of the malady, with which Ireland is afflicted, we must not look, solely, to the Protestants, or to the Catholics, or to the clergy, or to the privileged orders, or to the unprivileged classes; we must consider the whole, as forming one body, presenting certain indications of its real indisposition, in those affections, which ap-

pear to pervade every part of that whole. Partial observers, or interested individuals may, without violation of truth, ascribe to a part, what belongs to the whole. The premises may be true, though the conclusion fall short of the extent, to which it would be borne out by them. Such views and such deductions answer all the purposes of a sect or a party, that may have an interest, in disguising the true state of the case, or in embarrassing the government and deceiving the public by a false one. There is no subject of public importance, upon which so little correct information, or so much real ignorance is betrayed in this country, as in the impressions given and entertained, on the actual state of Ireland. To form a judgment by the factious representations of those men, who scandalously abandoned the Catholics, whilst in office, one would suppose, that emancipation was now a measure of the last importance to Ireland. In my former letter, I stated, and I here repeat the assertion, that the total emancipation of the Catholics, would prove an incalculable benefit to the empire, without having any considerable effect on the internal state of Ireland. I am convinced, that any man, acquainted with the general catholic mind, will agree with me, that the measure, if unaccompanied by others for the redress of practical grievances, would not have the smallest effect, either to eradicate Mr. Grattan's quaint *pimple*, or supercede the necessity of Mr. Sheridan's equally quaint *patch*. But, even though the balsam of emancipation were to clear the complexion of the beauty from the pimple, it would not remove from the constitution those ill humours, of which the pimple is but a symptom. The act of emancipation would have no more influence upon the wretched peasant, than an act, for allowing him to inhabit a slated house, would have, in reconciling him to his miserable cabin, because of the privilege conferred upon him, of being lodged, as well as his superiors, if ever his circumstances should enable him to procure the accommodation. His grievances are practical, his wants real; and it is not by the communication of political rights, which he can never hope to enjoy, that he is to be reconciled to great present privations and grievous prospective burthens. Every honest and impartial man must be a friend to emancipation, but no good or well intentioned subject would wish to force that question into discussion, at present, without some reasonable prospect of success. Indiscreet precipitancy would only tend to retard an event, which every day of sober reflection, on the part of those, who now oppose it, must accelerate to its final accomplishment.—The subject of tythes and their operation are equally misrepresented, and alike misunderstood in this country. On the ground of right, the property of the clergy and of lay impropriators, in tythes, is unquestionable; and certainly the attack upon that description of property comes with a very bad grace from the land proprietors. It would be superfluous here to enter into any proof of the common law right of the clergy to tythes, in their several benefices. That proportion of the produce of the soil has been imprescriptably vested in the church; and, I doubt much, whether any land proprietor in the empire, can produce so venerable a title to his estate. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to decide upon the principles, which have actuated the land proprietors of Ireland in their hostility to the rights of the clergy. It has been stated above, that the title of the clergy on tythes is immemorial and imprescriptable; not so the claims of the Irish land proprietors. Nine-tenths of the lands of Ireland have been regranted on forfeiture since the reformation. The lands, of course, passed to the grantees, subject to the claims of the church, which were indefeasible even by the crown; for those lands only, which belonged to the suppressed monasteries, were, or could be, granted over by the executive, discharged of tythes, because these lands alone were previously exempt from their operation. The proprietors, therefore, of nine-tenths of the lands of Ireland, whether claiming by descent, or purchase, from the original grantees, or their representatives, must hold their estates according to the terms of the original grant. They can have no right to what was not, and could not, be conveyed by it—the property of the clergy. Every species of tenure, by which land is onw held in Ireland, has been effected in the contemplation of this prior claim of the clergy. The purchaser and the occupier have acquired their different degrees of property or interest, upon lower terms, in the proportion, that the amount of the tythes diminished the value of the acquisition. It would be unjust, therefore, not only to the clergy, but to those, who either sold or let lands, under this impression, to give, by the abolition of tythes, so valuable an accession of property to the present proprietors or terre-tenants, for which no consideration whatever had been paid, or reserved, at the time of making the purchase or the lease. I know it may be said, that it is not the total abolition, but a reasonable commutation, of tythes, that is sought. I admit that commutation is the ostensible object of those

persons, who have stirred this question on the other side of the channel; but my argument will apply equally to commutation as to abolition, unless that commutation be adequate to the clergy, and still levied off the soil. In 1734 the land proprietors of Ireland abolished tythes of agistment by an arbitrary vote of the Irish House of Commons, declaring any professional man an enemy to his country, who should be concerned in any process for the recovery of tythes of agistment. This felonious injunction, for it robbed the clergy of their property without any colour of law, was afterwards legalised and placed upon the Statute Book at the Union. But, who were the gainers by that transaction? Were they not the proprietors themselves, whose pasture and feeding grounds were enhanced in value by being thus exonerated from the claims of the clergy? No man will venture to assert, that the public was in the smallest degree benefited. Neither beef, nor butter, nor mutton, was reduced in price, in consequence, and there is good reason to think, that the present high rates of tythes, in that country, are owing to that measure, which, by confining their operation to so small a portion of the surface of the country, as that employed in tillage, rendered an increase of rates absolutely unavoidable. Should the land proprietors succeed in 1808, as they did in 1734, in reducing the remaining incumbrance of tythes, affecting their lands, would they, or the public profit by the change? The instance, just quoted, will suffice to answer that question. Every article of agricultural produce would continue at its full price, unaffected by the change, and only the present occupier, and the land proprietor in reversion, be benefited, unless the commutation should still respect the soil as its object. In any other case, the public at large would be altogether the sufferers, as there would be no diminution of prices, and the land owners would proportionably increase their rents, whilst the whole weight of the commutation, if not confined to the soil, would be to be defrayed by the public. If the land proprietors were generously and disinterestedly to come forward, and offer to forego the benefit, they enjoy from the abolition of tythes of agistment; if they were justly and nobly to declare, that they had inherited their estates, subject to the recognised provision for the church, and were disposed to act honourably by the clergy, to deal fairly with the public, and to conform to the conditions, upon which their properties were granted; if they were to propose, that all the productive lands in the kingdom, should be charged, according to a certain rate by the acre, or the plough-land, in order to relieve tillage grounds from the exorbitant incumbrance, to which they are at present exclusively, though, perhaps, under existing circumstances, necessarily subjected for the support of the Irish church establishment; if, in their affectation of zeal for the interest of the public, they were to manifest any real feeling for the sufferings of the people; or, whilst ostensibly seeking redress of national grievances, not covertly to promote their own private interests; if they shewed any disposition to acquiesce in a common sacrifice for a common object; or, if their efforts were directed to the attainment of popular relief by any measures of general operation, not by the plunder of a particular body, we might respect their motives, however difficult we might feel it, either to approve the means they have resorted to, or enter into their particular views upon so important a national question. But, let it be had in remembrance, that the land proprietors, who are now creating an outcry against tythes, for the severity with which they press upon the lower orders, are the very identical description of persons, who procured the abolition of tythes of agistment, which cast the whole of the burthen of tythes upon tillage lands; and, consequently upon the poor. Had they exerted themselves, for the relief of the people, in 1734, with the same activity and perseverance, which they displayed in prosecuting successfully the exoneration of their own pasture grounds from any part of the charge, there would not be any discontent, at this moment existing amongst the Irish peasantry, on the score of tythes. Tythes of potatoes were, at that period, but of comparatively recent imposition, and had never been generally submitted to, nor levied without obstruction. From the first introduction of that nutritious root into Ireland, until about the middle of last century, its cultivation was attended with complete immunity from any contribution to the clergy. The exaction of a high rate, therefore, from a species of tillage, which had never before been the object of any such charge, was, as may be reasonably supposed, not quietly acquiesced in. White Boys, Right Boys, and various other denominations, and combinations of lawless nocturnal insurgents associated, from time to time, for the purpose of resisting the charge with open violence, and committed atrocities, that disturbed the tranquillity of the country, and called for the direct interposition of the military. The pressure of tythes was unquestionably the immediate cause of

these different insurrections; but, when the mistaken and misguided instruments of the popular tumults began to feel their power in the spread of their force and depredations, they uniformly extended their views and measures of redress, to every species of oppression, under which they had suffered. It was the fashion, at the time, to ascribe these troubles, and the outrages that followed, to the disaffection and fury of a Popish mob. The fact was, however, that the vengeance of the rioters, was indiscriminately levelled against the dues exacted by the Catholic priests, the tythes levied by the Protestant clergy, and the exorbitant rents demanded and inforced by the land proprietors and middlemen.—There were as many acts of violence committed against the priests, and persons concerned in levying distress for rent, as against the agents for tythes, who were universally represented as the sole objects of popular hatred and resentment. The excesses of the deluded multitude served only to enhance the hardships, which they sought to alleviate, and the repeated disturbances of the country had the effect of intimidating enterprising British capitalists from embarking in any, the most promising speculations, in that devoted kingdom. The landlords accused the clergy, who, in turn, retorted the charge upon them, of being the source of the national grievances; and the populace, whenever goaded into resistance by the overflowing measure of their oppression, directed their attacks, with equal violence and without any distinction, against rents, tythes, and the exactions of their own clergy. It was, in the last degree, false, therefore, to ascribe such disturbances to any religious motives: they were the unhappy, illegal, and ill judged struggles of an oppressed population, to obtain by force a redress of existing grievances, from whatever source they might have proceeded, and a greater number of Catholic priests, than of any other description of persons, suffered from popular resentment during these convulsions. The whole of the South of Ireland, at the commencement of the year 1786, presented a melancholy and alarming picture of public suffering and popular outrage. The spirit of insurrection, which had antecedently been confined to the obscurity of night, and the shelter of an assumed disguise, gaining confidence from numbers and impunity, encountered the face of day, and prosecuted the purposes of redress and violence in direct and declared defiance of the civil power. The timely interposition of military force, and a few deplorable, but unavoidable executions restored public tranquillity. Such had been the state of things, when the land proprietors, taking advantage of the prostration of the people, and the consternation of the clergy, procured their famous vote of agistment. On that occasion, the people were betrayed, and the clergy sacrificed; for whilst the latter were deprived of their property, the former were left exposed to the same unmitigated grievances, with all the aggravation, that must have been the consequence of throwing the whole weight of the church establishment upon tillage lands. What confidence, then, I would ask, ought to be placed in the professions of men, who are so actively alive to their own interests, and have shewn such morbid sensibility to the hardships of the great body of their countrymen? Is it to be supposed, that they who put up their lands to public competition, and let them only to the highest bidder, will abstain from taking any advantage of the alleviation of the pressure of tythes, by a correspondent increase in their demands? If they had ever been known to decline an opportunity of swelling the amount of their rent-rolls, however presented, they might, perhaps, be allowed to possess some claim to the public spirit and disinterestedness, which they affect. It might then be safely admitted, that the public, and particularly the poorer classes, would derive some substantial benefit from the abolition or commutation of tythes. But the spirit of exaction, which pervades all classes of the community, is ever craving and never satisfied. Whatever may be taken from the amount of tythes will be added to the amount of rent; so that the wretched hind, who is taught to expect some alleviation of his burthens, must find all his hopes frustrated, all his prospects blasted, when at length it shall be discovered, that the only effect of the change will be, to transfer to one hand, that oppression which had previously been dispensed by two.—It is not to any one class, or to any particular body, therefore, that the distresses and oppression of the people of Ireland are to be ascribed. They are all equally infected with the thirst of income; and, whether land proprietors, clergymen, land jobbers, farmers, proctors, middlemen, or even cottagers, they avail themselves of every occasion to promote their selfish objects, without any regard to the miseries of the victims to their rapacity. Mutual jealousies, no less than party feelings and religious prejudices, give rise to reciprocal accusations; but, whilst the multifarious authors of the public calamities, are occupied in alternate charges and denunciations, the unvaried source of op-

pression becomes inveterate and progressive. In such a state of things even prosperity becomes a national scourge: for, whilst it adds to the number of the affluent, it multiplies the authors and instruments of popular oppression. Religious differences, political disqualifications, or civil disabilities, produce at present, little more than nominal distinctions. The broad line of separation is not to be traced amongst the population of Ireland, between sects or factions, between parties, principles or professions, between orders or classes, or any known and recognised divisions or subdivisions of well regulated communities; it is simple, obvious, and definite, palpably discernible throughout every part of the country; and, without ever losing itself in the obscurity, that veils the limits of minor distinctions, draws a clear and comprehensive line of demarcation between the two grand, though very disproportionate, divisions of the people of Ireland; those who have some property, and those who have none but their labour; in a word, the oppressors and the oppressed. The selfish principle, that induces the great land proprietor to extort the highest possible rent for his lands, passes with the possession to his tenant, and descends with accumulating force through all the intermediate tenures, until it falls with insufferable effects upon the lowest denomination of occupants, the labouring poor. This is the great source of all the grievances and discontents in Ireland, and this proceeds not from the influence of religious prejudices, or the exercise of political ascendancy; it is the melancholy consequence of that unhappy system of legislative exclusion, which annihilated all identity of feeling, and destroyed any community of interest, during the last century, in the Irish nation. Laws were made for the security of property, rather than for the protection of the people. The great body of the nation, therefore, which was cut off by impolitic statutes, from any inheritance in the land, sunk insensibly, though rapidly, in moral estimation, to the level of its political degradation. The possessions of the predominant party were of much more consideration, than the rights of the prostrate, or the interests of the many. A new and unnatural system of public sentiment and moral feeling was quickly adopted, worthy of, and accommodated to, this most monstrous scheme of civil society. The mass of the population, who were by law prohibited from acquiring any property, became a species of property to their superiors, and were held in nearly the same degree of estimation, as the animals, that composed the stock upon their estates. Successive relieving statutes have let in all descriptions of subjects, of whatsoever religious persuasion, amongst the proprietors; but their moral or mental habits have not undergone any revolution, correspondent with the change that has taken place in the civil and political condition of the great body of the people of Ireland. The proprietors, the new or the old, the Catholic or the Protestant, and the various denominations of middlemen, who hold under them, still act upon the principle, of making a property of the people, by extorting from them an enormous amount of revenue, for the small portion of land, which they cultivate for the support of their families. In my next I shall establish that point, and shew, that the labouring poor alone yield to their oppressors, whether proprietors or middlemen, a revenue exceeding, in amount, the public income of the state. It will be for the Imperial Parliament then to determine the real source of the grievances of Ireland, and how far the statements of Irish proprietors are to be confided in relative to that subject. I shall only add, that, in what I have stated, I had no intention to convey any impression, as if tythes were not a great source of public grievance in Ireland; my principal object having been to shew, that, though represented as the most prominent, they were neither an exclusive, nor the most considerable cause of the distresses and discontents of that wretched country.——I am, Sir, &c.——VINDEX.——*London, December* 20, 1807.

"PERISH COMMERCE."

SIR,—As Mr. Spence acknowledges the basis of his system to be the same with that of the French economists, I have presumed to trouble you with a few remarks on that subject, which, if either he or you confute, I shall admit that you have gained your point. The doctrine of the economists is this—that the manufacturer adds nothing to national wealth; because while he is employed in encreasing the value of raw materials or rude produce, he consumes, for his own subsistence, a quantity of grain equal to the value of the commodity which he produces. The erroneousness of this doctrine is however easily detected. It arises from fixing, in an arbitrary manner, the value of manufactured produce, and stating it to be only equal to the quantity of

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corn necessary for the subsistence of the manufacturer. To render this however more apparent, it will be necessary to explain the nature, and point out the original source, of value. Value is in every case, I believe, constituted by labour, or the difficulty of producing any commodity. I shall not stop here to explain how the liberal arts and a knowledge of those sciences which time and capital are necessary to acquire, obtain a preeminence, but merely remark that the labour of one man appears to be originally equal in value to that of another, and that he is entitled to demand for the work of his hands that quantity of the produce of another person's which it required an equal length of time to fabricate. In bartering my goods with another person's therefore I do not state my commodity, but my labour, against his. It is perhaps true that the agriculturist is capable of producing a greater quantity of grain than the manufacturer can of any commodity; but as things become increased in quantity, or as a less degree of labour is required for their production, they become diminished in value, and therefore a small quantity of manufactures may be stated against a large quantity of grain or rude produce.—It is here to be remarked however, that as every manufacturer, as well as the agriculturist, produces a quantity of those articles which he is employed in fabricating equal to the supply of many individuals besides himself, he is entitled to rank this surplus of his labour with the surplus of the labour of other artificers, and to set off a certain portion of it, according to its quantity, against that portion of the superfluous food raised by the agriculturist which he receives, and in the same manner to barter the remainder among the followers of other arts for the other necessaries which he may require. The value of manufactures is never so much lessened by competition as to resolve itself into the mere subsistence of the manufacturer, because he could never be satisfied with so inadequate a return for his labour, and would therefore betake himself to another profession; and even that ingenuity which tends to increase the facility of the fabrication of any commodity never reduces its price beyond a degree which does not leave the manufacturer the full value and due reward of his industry. By nothing, however, is it better proved that the productive capacity of agriculture does not surpass that of other arts than by this—that agriculture and manufactures may be made to change circumstances, in such a manner, that it may be demonstrated in an inverse ratio to the system of the economists, that while an agriculturist is employed in raising grain he consumes manufactures equal to its value. Nothing can indeed be more evident than that the agriculturist is as much maintained at the expence of the manufacturer as the latter is at that of the former; and that the price of grain resolves itself into the amount of the manufactures exchanged for it, as much as the price of manufactures into the amount of the food which is received for them. Of what use is it, therefore, in demonstrating a difference between the circumstances of manufacturers and agriculturists, to say that the manufacturer has transmuted articles of a perishable into those of a durable nature, or the agriculturist those of a durable into those of a perishable nature? For each consumes what the other creates; each gains what the other loses; each exchanges that which is of no use for that which is of use to him; each gives no more of the work of his own hands for that of the other's than its value, the relative amount of which that competition which exists among agriculturists, as well as manufacturers, always renders exact.—But instead of saying that one species of labour is more productive than another, it would be more correct to say that one commodity is more easily produced than another; which however can only have the effect of proving it to be of less value. For if the labour required to produce any commodity be small according to its quantity, the price must be in the same degree low; if, on the contrary, great, the price must be proportionally high. An equality must be observed in apportioning the emoluments of different professions, in order to induce the application of the members of society equally towards them, and there can be no other rule for this distribution of reward than labour. All arts are equally useful which society can afford to cultivate; and all professions must be equally paid if they are equally necessary. Even the soldier, the judge, and the menial servant, who produce no tangible commodity, are entitled to rank their labour as equal to a portion of the superfluous produce of almost all the manufacturers within the society to which they belong, as all derive benefit from it; and to be remunerated for the security and facility which they give to the production of articles of necessity and luxury, or the addition which their labour makes to the enjoyment of them, with a certain portion of them for their own consumption.—The only difference which is to be discovered between the productive nature of agricultural labour and that employed in other arts

appears in this—that the farmer, besides deriving, from his profession, a revenue for himself, is enabled at the same time to pay a rent to the landlord; while the manufacturer can spare nothing from the revenue necessary to reward his own labour, and to replace the wages of the men and the expense of the tools which he employs. This difference between manufacturers and agriculturists is however more nominal than real. The rent paid to the landlord is evidently a profit on stock for money or property invested in land, which does not exceed the ordinary return of expence and maintenance, and places him in no more advantageous circumstances than any other capitalist; and if a master manufacturer borrows money for carrying on his business and pays interest for it, or if it is recollected that he pays a price for the rude produce which he manufactures, he will be found to be exactly in the situation of a farmer paying a rent. But by those who contend for the superiority of agriculture, the comparison is generally made between journeymen manufacturers and farmers. To be fair however, it should be between the master manufacturer and the farmer; for the capacity of a landlord is an addition to the profession of the latter. A landlord and a tenant are to be considered as engaged in two distinct trades, in which two capitals are employed, and from each of which a profit is to be derived. But it is obvious, that the rent received by the landlord is paid by manufacturers, or that they give articles to the tenant in exchange for grain equal to a revenue for himself and another to the landlord,—only because the two stocks employed, *in justice*, demand it. Stock is again to be considered but as an accumulation of labour, which, on account of its utility, necessarily demands a certain revenue. In every case, indeed, however much the intricate nature of the subject may perplex our judgment, profit always resolves itself into a reward for labour, and as the competition between the members of society, in the different arts, reduces this reward to exact justice, it is impossible that the agriculturist, more than those who are engaged in other professions, can derive any extraordinary or unjust reward from his labour, or that it can therefore be in any higher degree productive to himself or the community than that which is engaged in other professions.—With regard to the necessity of foreign commerce, I shall only quote the following words of Dr Adam Smith, from the chapter which he writes on the agricultural system. "The "perfection of manufacturing industry," he says, "it must be remembered, de- "pends altogether upon the division of la- "bour, and the degree to which the divi- "sion of labour can be introduced into any "manufacture depends upon the *extent of* "*the market.*"——E.——*Bervie, 1st January*, 1808.

POPULAR EDUCATION.

SIR,—Various have been the plans proposed by theoretical writers for the improvement of mankind. Among the most specious of these may be reckoned, what has been usually termed a popular education. The connection between truth and virtue is thought to be so intimate, that by whatever means the former is accelerated, by precisely the same, and to the same extent, will the practice of the latter be promoted. Than this opinion, it is scarcely possible to conceive one, at greater variance with the whole tenor of human experience. Were it true, that in the same proportion as nations emerge from a state of barbarism, they were known to cultivate those graces which tend to adorn the human character, then indeed there would be some apparent propriety, in using every possible exertion towards a general diffusion of knowledge. But luxury has hitherto, in an infinite variety of forms, been the inseparable concomitant of refinement, just as much as avarice has been of commerce, or rapacity of power. From the history of what country may the moral influence of knowledge, even when it has truth for its object, be deduced, is therefore neither an invidious, nor an useless inquiry? For, is it not a lamentable fact, that the mind of man may be highly improved, while he remains a stranger to every emotion almost, which ought to agitate his breast.—The plan of education proposed by Mr. Whitbread, I am willing to believe, originated in an ardent desire of promoting the welfare of a large class of his fellow creatures. But, that there was any rational probability of its accomplishing the end in view, may be very fairly questioned. Its being so nearly related to the far-famed discoveries of those high-toned philosophers, who are ever crying up the omnipotence of truth, afforded a strong presumption against it, in the judgment of sober minds. The bare possibility of living to see a motley company of ploughmen, thread-spinners, and tobacco-twisters, disputing with their great-grandmothers, concerning the eternal fitness of things, seems enough to support the drooping spirits of these venerable sages. Accustomed, however, to rely with confidence

on the intrinsic value of their own paradoxes, it was not until very lately that they condescended to solicit the friendly aid of the plodding politician. — But at length, with the assistance of a chosen disciple, they have really and in good faith resolved upon the quixotic experiment of renovating the human nature, of transforming the world.—One of a less sanguine temperament might suggest the expediency, not to say the propriety of these devotees of metaphysics taking an accurate, and as far as is practicable, an extensive survey of the conquests which they have already made. Perhaps, with comparatively few exceptions, it would be found, that by how much their opinions have been embraced, more especially by the lower orders of society, by so much has the love of regularity, of sobriety, and of justice diminished among them. I am aware, that the majority even of thinking people, are in the habit of reverting to what is called the dark ages—to that period, when, if prophane history may be credited, enthusiasm and superstition, in a manner, revelled with human ignorance—to that period, when the spiritual concerns of kingdoms, were consigned to the care of an old man at Rome—to that period, when a diocesan bishop, or even a common priest was qualified to search the inmost recesses of the human heart—we are in the habit, I say, of looking back to that period with a mixture of horror and contempt.—Yet, is it any thing more than reasonable to enquire, whether since we have thrown off the yoke which our fore-fathers placed upon our necks, we have made any great improvement in a moral point of view.—Do we still retain the same simplicity of character, the same love of our country, the same chivalrous and undaunted spirit, and in short, the same regard to public and private worth? Are we in possession of an equal portion of happiness now, as when we were devoutly adoring an absolute monarch, whose will was law, and doing homage to spiritual guides, who kept the keys of our consciences, by circumventing every avenue to our understandings? Who can answer either of these questions in the affirmative? And if no one can, how romantic must it be to think of essentially ameliorating the condition of the poor, merely by informing their minds.—An appeal more ostentatious than wise, has been made to Scotland, in behalf of the beneficial effects of education, to the lower orders of society. Surely it could be made by those only, who were but very partially acquainted indeed, with the manners, the customs, or the prejudices of the inhabitants of that favoured country. That their sobriety, their hardihood, and unwearied attention to business, is not derived from books, nor to be traced to any system whatever of mental improvement, is a fact which might be very easily proved. For some years past, their manners have been confessedly on the decline, nor is it difficult to discover the cause of their degeneracy. At the period of the French revolution, when the rage for freedom became fashionable, and when the Reform societies, those detestable associations, were in the zenith of their glory, the fatal infection was communicated to the Scottish peasantry, and it is greatly to be feared, that the venerable remains of their ancient character were then irrecoverably lost.—From being the most happy people in the world, they suddenly became peevish and discontented. Poor mechanics, who could scarcely earn a paltry subsistence for their families, busied themselves in fruitless investigations respecting the origin of government. And, those whom one would not once have dreamt of employing, to adjust a common difference between two friends, conceived themselves destined to give laws to nations, and to pronounce with emphatical decision, on the natural, the inalienable rights of man.—Mighty truly were the atchievements accomplished by means of philosophical information, and rational discussion!!—It appeared, as if every spark of patriotism, and of loyalty, which had so often warmed the breasts of the sons of Caledonia, had then been extinguished for ever. They could no longer brook the idea, of confining their peculiar affection within the narrow boundaries, by which nature had wisely chosen to separate one portion of the human race from another. No; their enlarged minds felt greatly indignant at a thought so mean. While, however, they were sacrificing largely at the shrine of equality, the ties of kindred were forgotten, as well as the sacred laws of rectitude and of honour. Light be the turf upon the breast of that immortal statesman, who boldly stept forward, and dispelling the awful delusion, rescued his country from impending destruction:—Happily, the poison of revolutionary and democratical principles, wide as was its range, and fatal as were its effects, did not reach many country parishes, owing partly, though not entirely, to their insular situation, and among these alone shall we find the genuine Scottish character.—Among these, some happy families will yet be found, who, untainted by the general pollution, regulate their conduct by that mos:

unpopular of all principles, namely, *that they have nothing earthly to do with the laws, but to obey them.* On this account, perhaps, more than on any other, they have arrived at the summit of human felicity. In spite of placemen and pensioners, as well as the whole host of muckeaters at Lloyd's, they are, through unwearied assiduity, prospering in their several callings. But in large towns, the case is materially different. In these, the effects of popular education are sensibly felt. What is the fruit of their reading? Were I to answer, penury, uneasiness, perplexity and sorrow, I do not know that I should be much wide of the truth.—The inhabitants are fonder of copying the vices, than of imitating the virtues of their more southern neighbours. In crowded cities passion rules and rages. The understandings of the people may be irradiated; but their hearts are awfully depraved. And, while they are eternally ringing in our ears the magical aphorism, *magna est veritas, et prævalebit*, or that other still more pernicious maxim, *truth must be favourable to virtue*, they are exemplifying those tempers and dispositions, which human nature ought not to possess. May heaven guard my country against the impious designs of those dauntless speculators, who wish to deprive them of every remaining portion of their happiness.—Ignorance may be denominated the parent of the welfare of individuals and communities. The term, however, is very equivocal, and is often grossly mis-applied. To be ignorant of what is commonly dignified with the name of wisdom, would, in a vast variety of instances, be no common acquisition. Were we total strangers to the feverish sensibility of Rousseau, and the daring impiety of Voltaire, the present discontents would speedily subside. Murmurings and complainings would be heard no more for ever. The age of popular clamour, of oligarchical despotism, would be succeeded by that of chivalry and of manly sentiment. But it is almost hopeless, perhaps completely visionary, to expect so total a revolution in human opinions, at least in our day.—Democratical principles have now been of so long standing in this country, that they have, so to express myself, become consolidated into our general habits, and habit is assuredly the greatest tyrant that ever plagued any people.—Still, however, it were unmanly to despair—rather against hope, let us believe in hope. Happy, happy, says the Moniteur, will it be for England, when she once more becomes a monarchy.—It is pretended by the partizans of Mr. Whitbread's scheme, that the chief, if indeed not the only object they have in view, in instructing the people, is to enable them to read the sacred scriptures. Really, there is something truly laughable in the idea of such men as Godwin for instance, wishing the people to pursue a course of reading of this description. Against such contemptible hypocrisy, it were in vain to argue. But permit me to ask Mr. Whitbread, (and I know he is incapable of professing what he does not believe) whether he thinks seriously, that the people would read *nothing else* than the bible. Are they in no danger of having their religious principles undermined by Infidels, or perverted by a certain description of dissenters? And is it a matter of any moment, whether they prefer the sophisms of a Voltaire, to those of a Priestly?—Will not the moral effects be precisely the same in either case? The votaries of Atheism, and the followers of Socinus, though they do not go by the same name, naturally enough rally round the same standard.—They both cry hideously for the diffusion of knowledge, and by that term they invariably mean, the mere glimmerings of unassisted reason. From the propagation of their blasphemous dogmas, persons of real learning and taste have little to fear. It requires no uncommon sagacity to perceive, that what they call profound reasoning, is nothing more than mere subtilty attenuated into inanity.—Yet it is very unfortunate, that the ignorant, and those who can just barely read, are ever ready to receive the maxims of a perverted understanding, of a sickly imagination. Persons who can just read the sacred writings, but who are wholly incapable of forming a proper judgment upon their important contents, are those among whom the shafts of scepticism fly thickest, and make the greatest ravages. From this numerous class, who constitute the majority in all civilized countries, every thing is to be expected, or every thing must be dreaded.—To encrease their happiness by adding to their enjoyments, and diminishing the quantity of their labour, cannot fail of being the wish of every benevolent mind.—But how is this to be done?—Not surely by instructing them how to spend their leisure hours in laborious idleness. Not by making them disrelish as tasteless and insipid, the manly pleasures of the field, and substituting in their room, those kind of books, which will have a tendency to enervate their minds, to foster luxury and effeminacy.—But say the popular education philosophers, by teaching these people to read, we effectually aggravate

their happiness; for we know that intellectual pleasures, are not only much more intense, but likewise more permanent, than those which belong to us as animals.—This hypothesis, on which so huge a superstructure is to be reared, is perfectly gratuitous. It has indeed ever appeared to me to be palpably absurd. A few wild visionaries might be found, who would impudently assert, that they have derived more real satisfaction from the poems of Virgil, or from the musical tones of Catalani, than from the best sirloin of beef in Smithfield market. But is it so with mankind in general? No: it can then only be the case, when the animal functions are impaired by intemperance, by idleness or profligacy, and when the various objects of sense have been enjoyed to satiety. A good dinner is so great a blessing, that he who does not sincerely prize it, ought in justice to be deprived of it. Probably an Italian songstress, or some other strumpet who displays her limbs, the working of her thighs, and the intonations of her voice, before a concourse of spectators, might preach up the intensity of mental pleasures—it is her trade; but what person of sense would hesitate a moment to call her a dissembling vagrant. She lives upon the hard earnings of the labouring poor—is supported in splendour, by their cries and by their blood. Her very existence depends upon the encouragement of the popular education system. Its overthrow and her irrecoverable ruin, are events, which, how distant soever they may be, must ultimately go together. Apart, however, from considerations of this kind, may we not inquire whether it is really true, that by teaching people to read, we encrease their happiness. —I am much mistaken indeed if the reverse is not the fact. Look at our manufactories, at those of Manchester and Birmingham for instance, and you will find that the miserable wretches who occupy them, generally speaking, can just *barely read*.—Are their leisure moments devoted to the sacred page? Alas! they are open contemners of that stupendous light, which has often gilded the blackness of human misery, which has been proved to be the balm and the cordial of the present life, as well as a sovereign antidote against the fear of death. Do they read only useless publications? Were they satisfied with these, to reform them would not be, as it now confessedly is, a forlorn hope.—But the fact is, their reading is chiefly confined to those puny pamphlets, which are calculated to give poignancy to the violence of their unruly passions.—If at any time they ascend higher than these, that species of reading is preferred, which acts at once as a stimulus to the understanding, and a narcotic to the heart. These then are some of the blessed effects of popular education. I would solemnly ask Mr. Whitbread, whether if the peasantry of England had not been able to read, the consequences resulting from such publications as The Age of Reason, or The Rights of Man, would have been half so tragical, as it is to be feared they have. He knows full well they would not. That class who are particularly liable to have their judgments perverted by false reasoning, is physically incapacitated from viewing a subject in all its various bearings. In truth it is not their province. True they have a natural desire to add to the stock of their ideas; but it is their good fortune to remain ignorant, when knowledge is so dearly purchased.—Happy ignorance! the child of innocence! Who does not at once perceive the truth of that beautiful apostrophe of the bard of Mantua,

> O fortunatos nimiùm, sua si bona norint
> Agricolas!———

It were imprudent in me, however, to exercise the patience of your readers any longer, and the rather as it may be pretty nearly exhausted. I shall, therefore, conclude with a single remark.—Although to be pointed at as the patron of ignorance, might be irksome to one's feelings, yet as I am only reiterating, through the medium of a most useful work, the sentiments of some of the most accurate reasoners both in morals and politics, I shall willingly put up with any appellation, which does not exclude me from their fraternity.——With high respect, I remain, Sir, your constant reader, J. Mac———d.

11*th Dec.* 1807.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Russia.——*King of England's Declaration, in Answer to that of the Emperor of Russia. Dated at Westminster, Dec.* 18, 1807.

The Declaration issued at St. Petersburgh, by his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, has excited in his Maj.'s mind the strongest sensations of astonishment and regret.—His Maj. was not unaware of the nature of those secret engagements which had been imposed upon Russia in the conferences of Tilsit. But his Maj. had entertained the hope, that a review of the transactions of that unfortunate negociation, and a just estimate of its effects upon the glory of the Russian name, and upon the interests of the Russian Empire, would have

induced his Imperial Majesty to extricate himself from the embarrassment of those new counsels and connections which he had adopted in a moment of despondency and alarm, and to return to a policy more congenial to the principles which he has so invariably professed, and more conducive to the honour of his crown, and to the prosperity of his dominions.—This hope has dictated to his Maj. the utmost forbearance and moderation in all his diplomatic intercourse with the Court of St Petersburgh, since the peace of Tilsit.—His Maj. had much cause for suspicion, and just ground of complaint. But he abstained from the language of reproach. His Maj. deemed it necessary to require specific explanation with respect to those arrangements with France, the concealment of which from his Maj. could not but confirm the impression already received of their character and tendency. But his Maj., nevertheless, directed the demand of that explanation to be made, not only without asperity or the indication of any hostile disposition, but with that considerate regard to the feelings and situation of the Emperor of Russia, which resulted from the recollection of former friendship, and from confidence interrupted, but not destroyed.—The Declaration of the Emperor of Russia proves that the object of his Maj.'s forbearance and moderation has not been attained. It proves, unhappily, that the influence of that power, which is equally and essentially the enemy both of G. Britain and of Russia, has acquired a decided ascendancy in the Counsels of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh; and has been able to excite a causeless enmity between two nations, whose long established connection, and whose mutual interests prescribed the most intimate union and co-operation.—His Maj. deeply laments the extension of the calamities of war. But called upon as he is, to defend himself against an act of unprovoked hostility, His Maj. is anxious to refute in the face of the world the pretexts by which that act is attempted to be justified.—The Declaration asserts that his Maj. the Emperor of Russia has twice taken up arms in a cause in which the interest of G. Britain was more direct than his own: and founds upon this assertion the charge against G. Britain of having neglected to second and support the military operations of Russia.—His Maj. willingly does justice to the motives which originally engaged Russia in the great struggle against France. His Maj. avows with equal readiness the interest which G. Britain has uniformly taken in the fates and fortunes of the powers of the Continent. But it would surely be difficult to prove that G. Britain, who was herself in a state of hostility with Prussia, when the war broke out between Prussia and France, had an interest and a duty more direct in espousing the Prussian quarrel than the Emperor of Russia, the ally of his Prussian Maj., the protector of the North of Europe, and the Guarantee of the Germanic Constitution.—It is not in a public Declaration that his Maj. can discuss the policy of having at any particular period of the war effected, or omitted to effect, disembarkations of troops on the coasts of Naples. But the instance of the war with the Porte is still more singularly chosen to illustrate the charge against G. Britain of indifference to the interests of her ally: a war undertaken by G. Britain at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against the influence of France.—If, however, the peace of Tilsit is indeed to be considered as the consequence and the punishment of the imputed inactivity of G. Britain, his Maj. cannot but regret that the Emperor of Russia should have resorted to so precipitate and fatal a measure at the moment when he had received distinct assurances that his Maj. was making the most strenuous exertions to fulfil the wishes and expectations of his ally (assurances which his Imperial Maj. received and acknowledged with apparent confidence and satisfaction); and when his Maj. was, in fact, prepared to employ for the advancement of the common objects of the war, those forces which, after the peace of Tilsit, he was under the necessity of employing to disconcert a combination directed against his own immediate interests and security.——The vexation of Russian commerce by G. Britain is, in truth, little more than an imaginary grievance Upon a diligent examination, made by his Maj.'s command, of the records of the British Court of Admiralty, there has been discovered only a solitary instance in the course of the present war, of the condemnation of a vessel really Russian; a vessel which had carried naval stores to a port of the common enemy. There are but few instances of Russian vessels detained: and none in which justice has been refused to a party regularly complaining of such detention. It is therefore matter of surprise, as well as of concern to his Maj., that the Emperor of Russia should have condescended to bring forward a complaint which, as it cannot be seriously felt by those in whose behalf it is urged, might appear to be intended to countenance those exaggerated declamations, by which France per-

severingly endeavours to inflame the jealousy of other countries, and to justify her own inveterate animosity against G. Brltain.—The peace of Tilsit was followed by an offer of mediation on the part of the Emperor of Russia, for the conclusion of a peace between G. Britain and France; which, it is asserted, that his Maj. refused.—His Maj. did not refuse the mediation of the Emperor of Russia; although the offer of it was accompanied by circumstances of concealment, which might well have justified his refusal. The articles of the treaty of Tilsit were not communicated to his Maj.; and specifically that article of the treaty in virtue of which the mediation was proposed, and which prescribed a limited time for the return of his Maj.'s answer to that proposal. And his Maj. was thus led into an apparent compliance with a limitation so offensive to the dignity of an independent sovereign. But the answer so returned by his Maj. was not a refusal. It was a conditional acceptance. The conditions required by his Maj. were—a statement of the basis upon which the enemy was disposed to treat; and a communication of the articles of the peace of Tilsit. The first of these conditions was precisely the same which the Emperor of Russia had himself annexed not four months before to his own acceptance of the proffered mediation of the Emperor of Austria. The second was one which his Maj. would have had a right to require, even as the ally of his Imperial Maj.: but which it would have been highly improvident to omit, when he was invited to confide to his Imperial Maj. the care of his honour and of his interest.—But even if these conditions (neither of which has been fulfilled, although the fulfilment of them has been repeatedly required by his Maj.'s ambassador at St. Petersburgh), had not been in themselves perfectly natural and necessary; there were not wanting considerations which might have warranted his Maj. in endeavouring, with more than ordinary anxiety, to ascertain the views and intentions of the Emperor of Russia, and the precise nature and effect of the new relations which his Imperial Maj. had contracted.—The complete abandonment of the interests of the King of Prussia (who had twice rejected proposals of separate peace, from a strict adherence to his engagements with his Imperial ally), and the character of those provisions which the Emperor of Russia was contented to make for his own interests in the negociations of Tilsit, presented no encouraging prospect of the result of any exertions which his Imperial Maj. might be disposed to employ in favour of G. Britain.—It is not, while a French army still occupies and lays waste the remaining dominions of the King of Prussia, in spite of the stipulations of the Prussian treaty of Tilsit; while contributions are arbitrarily exacted by France from that remnant of the Prussian monarchy, such as, in its entire and most flourishing state, the Prussian monarchy would have been unable to discharge; while the surrender is demanded, in time of peace, of Prussian fortresses, which had not been reduced during the war; and while the power of France is exercised over Prussia with such shameless tyranny, as to designate and demand for instant death, individuals, subjects of his Prussian Maj. and resident in his dominions, upon a charge of disrespect towards the French government;—it is not while all these things are done and suffered, under the eyes of the Emperor of Russia, and without his interference on behalf of his ally, that his Maj. can feel himself called upon to account to Europe for having hesitated to repose an unconditional confidence in the efficacy of his Imperial Maj.'s mediation.—Nor, even if that mediation had taken full effect, if a peace had been concluded under it, and that peace guaranteed by his Imperial Maj., could his Maj. have placed implicit reliance on the stability of any such arrangement, after having seen the Emperor of Russia openly transfer to France the sovereignty of the Ionian republic, the independence of which his Imperial Maj. had recently and solemnly guaranteed.—But while the alleged rejection of the Emperor of Russia's mediation, between G. Britain and France, is stated as a just ground of his Imperial Maj.'s resentment; his Maj.'s request of that mediation, for the re-establishment of peace between G. Britain and Denmark, is represented as an insult which it was beyond the bounds of his Imperial Maj.'s moderation to endure.—His Maj. feels himself under no obligation to offer any atonement or apology to the Emperor of Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit, to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them has been happily defeated.—His Maj.'s justification of the expedition against Copenhagen is before the world. The Declaration of the Emperor of Russia would supply whatever was wanting in it, if any thing could be wanting to convince the most incredulous of the urgency of that necessity under which his Maj. acted.—But until the Russian Declaration was published, his Maj. had no reason to suspect that any

opinions which the Emperor of Russia might entertain of the transactions at Copenhagen, could be such as to preclude his Imperial Maj. from undertaking at the request of G. Britain, that same office of mediator, which he had assumed with so much alacrity on the behalf of France.—Nor can his Maj. forget, that the first symptoms of reviving confidence, since the peace of Tilsit, the only prospect of success in the endeavours of his Maj.'s ambassador to restore the ancient good understanding between G. Britain and Russia, appeared when the intelligence of the siege of Copenhagen had been recently received at St. Petersburgh.—The inviolability of the Baltic Sea, and the reciprocal guarantees of the powers that border upon it, guarantees said to have been contracted with the knowledge of the British government, are stated as aggravations of his Maj.'s proceedings in the Baltic.. It cannot be intended to represent his Maj. as having at any time acquiesced in the principles upon which the inviolability of the Baltic is maintained, however his Maj. may, at particular periods, have forborne, for special reasons, influencing his conduct at the time, to act in contradiction of them. Such forbearance never could have applied but to a state of peace and real neutrality in the North; and his Maj. most assuredly could not be expected to recur to it, after France has been suffered to establish herself in undisputed sovereignty along the whole coast of the Baltic Sea, from Dantzig to Lubec.—But the higher the value which the Emperor of Russia places on the engagements respecting the tranquillity of the Baltic, which he describes himself as inheriting from his immediate predecessors, the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Paul, the less justly can his Imperial Maj. resent the appeal made to him by his Maj. as the guarantee of the peace to be concluded between G. Britain and Denmark. In making that appeal, with the utmost confidence and sincerity, his Maj. neither intended, nor can he imagine that he offered, any insult to the Emperor of Russia. Nor can his Maj. conceive that, in proposing to the Prince Royal terms of peace, such as the most successful war on the part of Denmark could hardly have been expected to extort from G. Britain, his Maj. rendered himself liable to the imputation, either of exasperating the resentment, or of outraging the dignity, of Denmark.—His Maj. has thus replied to all the different accusations by which the Russian government labours to justify the rupture of a connection which has subsisted for ages, with reciprocal advantages to G. Britain and Russia; and attempts to disguise the operation of that external influence by which Russia is driven into unjust hostilities for interests not her own.—The Russian Declaration proceeds to announce the several conditions on which alone these hostilities can be terminated, and the intercourse of the two countries renewed.—His Maj. has already had occasion to assert that justice has in no instance been denied to the claims of his Imperial Maj.'s subjects.—The termination of the war with Denmark has been so anxiously sought by his Maj., that it cannot be necessary for his Maj. to renew any professions upon that subject. But his Maj. is at a loss to reconcile the Emperor of Russia's present anxiety for the completion of such an arrangement, with his Imperial Maj.'s recent refusal to contribute his good offices for effecting it.—The requisition of his Imperial Maj. for the immediate conclusion, by his Maj., of a peace with France, is as extraordinary in the substance, as it is offensive in the manner. His Maj. has at no time declined to treat with France, when France has professed a willingness to treat on an admissible basis. And the Emperor of Russia cannot fail to remember that the last negociation between G. Britain and France was broken off, upon points immediately affecting, not his Maj.'s own interests, but those of his Imperial ally. But his Maj. neither understands, nor will he admit, the pretension of the Emperor of Russia to dictate the time, or the mode, of his Maj.'s pacific negociation with other powers. It never will be endured by his Maj. that any government shall indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by the adoption of an insulting and peremptory tone towards G. Britain.—His Maj. proclaims anew those principles of maritime law, against which the armed neutrality, under the auspices of the Empress Catherine, was originally directed; and against which the present hostilities of Russia are denounced. Those principles have been recognized and acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe; and acted upon by no power with more strictness and severity than by Russia herself in the reign of the Empress Catherine.—Those principles it is the right and the duty of his Maj. to maintain: And against every confederacy, his Maj is determined, under the blessing of divine Providence, to maintain them. They have at all times contributed essentially to the support of the maritime power of G. Britain; but they are become incalculably more valuable and important at a period when the maritime power of G. Britain constitutes the sole remaining

bulwark against the overwhelming usurpations of France; the only refuge to which other nations may yet resort, in happier times, for assistance and protection.—When the opportunity for peace between G. Britain and Russia shall arrive, his Maj. will embrace it with eagerness. The arrangements of such a negociation will not be difficult or complicated. His Maj., as he has nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require: satisfied if Russia shall manifest a disposition to return to her ancient feelings of friendship towards G. Britain; to a just consideration of her own true interests; and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation.

RUSSIA.——*Order of Council for general Reprisals against Russia.*

At the Court at Windsor, the 18th of December, 1807, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.——His Majesty having taken into consideration the injurious and hostile proceedings of the Emperor of all the Russias, as set forth in the Declaration of this date, issued by his Majesty's command; and being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and procuring reparation and satisfaction, his Majesty therefore is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects, of the Emperor of all the Russias (save and except any vessels to which his Majesty's licence has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo, and have not since arrived at any foreign ports,) so that as well his Majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the Emperor of all the Russias, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the Emperor of all the Russias, and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, &c. &c.—CAMDEN, P. WESTMORLAND, C. P. S. HAWKESBURY, MULGRAVE, ST. HELEN'S, SP. PERCEVAL, G. CANNING.

JAMAICA.—*Resolutions, passed unanimously by the House of Assembly, on the 29th of Oct. 1807, relative to the distressed state of the Colony, and especially to the Abolition Act, passed by the last Parliament.*

(Continued from p. 96.)

If a community shall ever be reduced to that calamitous situation, when the whole clear income of the proprietors of the soil shall have been put in requisition for the treasury, there can remain in that country few objects of legitimate taxation.—It has been proved beyond the possibility of being controverted, that the cultivators of sugar in this island, comprehending both landholders and farmers, are, with very few exceptions, in the unfortunate state supposed, even if they were exempt from the burthen of debts.——The greatest proportion of the taxes of this country is raised on this body of proprietors directly, and a considerable share of the remainder indirectly, through various classes of the inhabitants, whose chief means of support are drawn from the sugar plantations.—It were vain to search for means of levying part of a revenue that does not exist. And it is painful to the committee to state, that it will be impracticable to continue to raise within this island, those contributions which were chearfully paid in happier times, unless the sugar planters shall be enabled to support their share of the public burthens, by some radical, effectual, and permanent, measures, which shall restore and ensure to them an income, bearing a just proportion to their large capitals, on which our local taxes have been heretofore chiefly assessed.——That, from the unexpected sums which have been, and may be, collected, from the extraordinary importation of Africans, as before stated, and the unexpected falling in of debts due to the public, it may be practicable, with rigid economy in all other branches of the public expenditure, to continue such subsistence another year. And the committee recommend to the House to vote sums necessary for giving the said additional subsistence to the 31st day of December, 1808. The committee humbly hope, that, on a faithful representation to our most gracious Sovereign, of the calamitous situation to which his loyal subjects of this island are reduced, his Majesty, with his accustomed benevolence, will recognize the uniform zeal with which the voluntary contributions towards the comfort of his Majesty's troops in this island have been made, whilst the inhabitants had the means: and, considering the state to which proprietors, once opulent, are reduced, that his Majesty will be pleased to direct his ministers to adopt such measures as shall be necessary for protecting this yet important colony from the general funds of the empire, to which it contributes so large and disproportionate a share. And the committee recommend to the House to appoint a committee to prepare a most humble address to his Majesty, setting forth these

grievances and oppressions, earnestly be-
hing his Majesty's commands on his mi-
ers to adopt proper measures for our re-
and redress.—Ordered, that Mr. Steven-
Mr. Grant, Mr. Whitehorne, Mr. Sims,
Mr. Finlayson, be a committee for that
pose.——II. Resolved, That this House,
itself, and on the part of its constituents,
of all other persons in any manner con-
ed in the welfare of this island, do, in
most solemn and decided manner, protest
nst the act of the Imperial Parliament,
ssed on the 25th day of March last, enti-
led, "An Act for the Abolition of the Slave
Trade," not only as a breach, on the part of
government, of the conditions under which
his Majesty's subjects embarked in the set-
lement of this island, but as a novel, un-
just, and unconstitutional interference with
its internal government and affairs; calcu-
lated to defeat and to subvert our laws, to
deprive us of our dearest birth-rights, the
al by jury, to raise envy and jealousy in
breasts of the settled negroes; subver-
e of an ancient and admitted principle of
British constitution, that no laws can be
ding on those who are not represented in
parliament which enacts them, placing
only our rights and properties, but also
lives, in the most imminent danger, and
ding to promote disaffection in the minds
his Majesty's most loyal subjects.——III.
solved, That the legislature of this island
, and ever had, the exclusive and absolute
ht to enact its own laws, and to regulate
irely its internal government and affairs:
t the Imperial Parliament hath not, nor
h any other power upon earth, the most
tant right to interfere therein (except only
Majesty, in the instance of disallowing
laws here made); and that in support
the dearest rights and liberties of our fel-
subjects, it is our duty, by all constitu-
nal means in our power, to resist the at-
mpt that has been, and every attempt that
y be, made, to destroy or to abridge that
ht.——IV. Resolved, That this House,
more fortunate days, when the situation
the inhabitants of this island was different,
d when the burthens and restrictions im-
sed by Great Britain were infinitely less
pressive than they now are, has never
led in shewing the strongest disposition to
nder the situation of his Majesty's troops
this island most comfortable; and that
is house is still influenced by the same
position; but is totally deprived of the
me means.——V. Resolved, That the
ual pay and subsistence granted to his Ma-
sty's white troops stationed in this island,
the extent of 3000 men, be continued to
them until the 31st day of December, 1808; in the first place, by exhausting the funds to arise from the duties on new negroes, under the act commonly called the additional duty bill, and, as to the deficiency, out of the monies to arise from some or one of the other money bills to be passed this session. —VI. Resolved, That the abolition act, by its totally destroying, for the future, the customary revenue under the negro duty bill, by its baneful effects on our ordinary resources, and its general tendency to overwhelm the unfortunate settlers and inhabitants of this island, in combination with the excessive duties and charges on our produce, and the well-known general distress of the colony, render us totally unable to make any provision for his Majesty's troops, beyond the period above-mentioned, nor can we contemplate a renewal of such grants, until, by a redress of our grievances, the minds of our constituents respecting our constitutional rights shall be quieted, and the possession of the means shall again enable us to bear so heavy a burthen.——VII. Resolved, That under the pressure of a heavy public debt, and of individual distress, now actually felt and become insupportable; and from the prospect of the calamities which must be the inevitable consequence of the abolition act, it is absolutely necessary to relieve all ranks, by moderating the taxes, and by retrenching the public expenditure in every possible manner, even in some cases of acknowledged public benefit and advantage. That the vote of the House, refusing the annual grant of £15,000 for roads at a distance from the sea, by which internal settlers, who so much augment our strength, are discouraged, should be followed up by a resolution to suspend for the present all grants for public buildings and barracks, except in a limited degree and under very apparent necessity.——VIII. Resolved, That the further prosecution of the measures about to be adopted in the Imperial Parliament for the relief of the sugar colonies; the repeal in toto of the abolition act; or, if that cannot be effected, the absolute repeal, at least of all the obnoxious and unconstitutional enactments thereof, coupled with a full compensation to the island for its losses, sufferings, and disappointments, in consequence of the abolition of the trade; the adoption by the British government of the means of affording general protection to this colony at the general expence of the empire; and, above all, an abandonment by the Imperial Parliament of every pretension to an interference with our internal government or affairs, are objects of the highest importance

to this island, and call for the immediate, the serious, and most energetic attention of the island agent.

AMERICAN STATES.——*Report, made in the Congress, Nov.* 17, 1807, *touching the Affair of the Chesapeake Frigate.*

Mr. Blount, from a Committee of the House of Representatives on a part of the President's Message, reported this day on the subject of the attack on the Chesapeake. The report commences with an expression of sensibility at this outrage: states the receipt of information relative thereto from the state and navy departments; presents a general view of the circumstances, observing that it might be said to have been incontestibly proved, that William Ware, John Strachan and Dan. Martin (three of the four persons taken out of the Chesapeake) are citizens of the United States; but the committee add, that they conceive it unnecessary for them or the House to go into any inquiry on that part of the subject, as in their opinion whether the men taken from the Chesapeake were, or were not citizens of the United States, and whether the Chesapeake was or was not within the acknowledged limits of the United States at the time they were taken, the character of the act of taking them remains the same.——From the foregoing facts, it appears to your committee that the outrage committed on the frigate Chesapeake has been stamped with circumstances of indignity and insult, of which there is scarcely to be found a parallel in the history of civilized nations, and requires only the sanction of the government under colour of whose authority it was perpetrated, to make it just cause of, if not an irresistible call for, instant and severe retaliation. Whether it will receive that sanction, or be disavowed and declared an unauthorised act of a subordinate officer, remains to be determined by the answer which shall be given to the demand of explanation; that answer, now daily expected, will either sink the detestable act into piracy, or expand it to the magnitude of premeditated hostility against the sovereignty and independence of this nation; and until its true character shall be fixed and known, your committee deem it expedient to decline expressing any opinion as to the measures proper to be adopted in retaliation to it. But the committee add, as other acts of aggression have been committed within our ports and waters, such as these mentioned in the President's Message, the committee are of opinion, that it is expedient to provide more effectually for the protection of our ports and harbours; but not being prepared to report specifically on that subject, they ask further indulgence of the House; and submit the following resolution:—Resolved, That the attack of the British ship of war Leopard on the United States frigate Chesapeake, was a flagrant violation of the jurisdiction of the United States; and that the continuance of the British squadron (of which the Leopard was one) in their waters, after being notified by the proclamation of the President of the United States, ordering them to depart the same, was a farther violation thereof.

ENGLAND.——*Order in Council, relative to Neutral Commerce. Dated Dec.* 18, 1807.

At the Court at Windsor, the 18th day of Dec. 1807, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—His Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing in his Majesty's Order in Council of the 11th of Nov. last shall extend, or be construed to extend, to permit any vessel to import any articles of the produce or manufacture of the enemies' colonies in the West Indies, direct from such colonies to any port of this kingdom; and it is further ordered, that all vessels which may arrive in the ports of this kingdom direct from the colonies aforesaid, shall, nevertheless, be released, upon proof being made that the charter-party or other agreement for the voyage was entered into before notice of this order. And the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty and Courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.——W. FAWKENER.

FRANCE.——*Decree against English Commerce, dated at Milan, Dec.* 17, 1807, *and signed by the Emperor Napoleon. Together with a Supplement by the French Minister of Marine.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Rhinish Confederation:—Observing the measures adopted by the British government, on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be searched by English cruizers, but to be compulsorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of so much per cent. on the cargo, to be regulated by the British legislature.—Observing that by these

the British government denationalizes s of every nation in Europe, that it is competent for any government to de- from its own independence and rights, the sovereigns of Europe having in trust sovereignties and independence of the ; that if by an unpardonable weakness, which, in the eyes of posterity, would n indelible stain, such a tyranny was al- ed to be established into principles, and secrated by usage, the English would ail themselves of it to assert it as a right, as they have availed themselves of the toler- nce of governments to establish the infa- mous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of blockade an arbitrary extension, and which infringes on the sovereignty of every state ; we have decreed, and do decree as follows : —Art. I. Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or that shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be denationalized, to have forfeited the protec- n of its king, and to have become English operty.—Art. II. Whether the ships thus denationalized by the arbitrary measures of English government, enter into our rts, or those of our allies, or whether they into the hands of our ships of war, or of privateers, they are declared to be good lawful prizes.——Art. III. The British nds are declared to be in a state of block- , both by land and sea. Every ship, of atever nation, or whatsoever the nature its cargo so may be, that sails from the rts of England, or those of the English co- ies, and of the countries occupied by Eng- troops, and proceeding to England, or to English colonies, or to countries occu- d by English troops, is good and lawful ze, as contrary to the present decree; and y be captured by our ships of war or our vateers, and adjudged to the captor.—— t. IV. These measures, which are resorted only in just retaliation of the barbarous tem adopted by England, which assimi- es its legislation to that of Algiers, shall se to have any effect with respect to all ions who shall have the firmness to com- the English government to respect their flag. ey shall continue to be rigorously in force long as that government does not return to principle of the law of nations, which gulates the relations of civilized states in a te of war. The provisions of the present cree shall be abrogated and null, in fact, as on as the English abide again by the prin- ples of the law of nations, which are also the principles of justice and of honour.—— All our ministers are charged with the exe- cution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

As a Supplement to this decree, there is in the Official Journal the following Circular Letter, addressed by the Minister of the In- terior to the Chamber of Commerce:—You are not unacquainted, gentlemen, with the late acts of the British government, that last stage of the oppression of the commerce of the world ; you know that it has resolved to destroy the feeble remains of the indepen- dence of the seas. It now thinks proper, that henceforth no ship shall navigate the seas, without touching at its ports, without a tribute to its pretended sovereignty, and without receiving from it an ignominious li- cence.—Thus the ocean is henceforward on- ly the field of slavery! The usurpation of the most sacred of the rights of nations is consummated, and this tyrannic yoke is to press upon them until the day of vengeance, or until brought to a due sense of modera- tion, the English government will itself calm its rage, and break that sceptre to which the nations of the continent will never consent to submit.—I am calling our common atten- tion to the important circumstances which must powerfully induce us to awaken your patriotism and your wisdom. One would have imagined, that every obstruction and restraint that clogged the course of the commerce on the continent, had been ex- hausted ; still, however, they are going to be aggravated by the measures lately adopted by England; but they will find our minds made up to struggle against, and to over- come, this new mode of oppression.——We must not shut our eyes to the consequences. Importation and exportation, already so much restricted, will soon be much more so. Every thing connected with maritime com- merce; every thing that depends upon it, will now be liable to more difficulties, to more uncertainty. There are, however, two channels that still remain open.—The pow- er of attacking every ship that renounces the independence of its national flag, by a shameful submission to the British sove- reignty, and by navigating under a British licence, will open a wide field to the hopes of our commanders. Such a resource will not prove ineffectual, and French commerce will not devote itself uselessly to that sort of warfare which never lets courage, dexterity, and decision, go unrewarded.——We have moreover to hope that neutral ships will elude the vigilance of the English cruisers; the immense extent of the coasts of the empire will favour and protect their enter-

prises.—These resources ought not to be undervalued, nor counted for nothing. France will submit to a temporary situation, which can only change with time, and with new exertions; but her enemy shall not deprive her of the main basis of her prosperity, her internal communication, her relations with the continent, where she no longer sees any but friends or allies; her soil will not be less fertile, her industry will not maintain itself the less, though deprived of some materials which it is not impossible to replace.——To this last proposition I am rather anxious, gentlemen, to direct your attention. You have advice to give, and examples to hold out to commerce. You must already foresee the effect of the privation of certain materials, more especially for cotton, and of ingredients for dying of cotton, of which a quantity has been stored up in France: that which we shall derive from the Levant, and that which, at a more distant period, we shall reap from our indigenous culture, not unsuccessfully essayed, will suffice to support, in a great measure, our manufactures; but in the expectation that some of them may experience privations, we must have recourse, as far as possible, to hemp and flax, in order to provide occupation for those manufacturers who would no longer be employed with articles of cotton. It were desirable that we should circumscribe our consumption within the products of the materials the growth of our soil, and restrain the unhappy effects of habits and taste contracted for manufactures, that would render us dependent upon foreign countries.——The materials for dying may become scarce—but many of them may be replaced by the productions of our soil. We will dispense with the rest by a slight sacrifice of some colours, which may please from their apparent greater beauty, without adding any thing to the intrinsic goodness of the article. Besides, no small reliance is to be placed on the genius of our manufacturers: it will triumph over those difficulties.—The channels, which in spite of these usurpations, will remain open to importation, may not suffice for the consumption of sugar and coffee; these objects of secondary utility may become scarce; but the great mass of the nation will not suffer from this temporary privation: habits of indulgence too widely indulged will be counteracted and restrained by the rise in the price.——And besides, is it to be supposed that the Great Nation will allow itself to be intimidated by the privation of some futile enjoyments? Her armies have endured, without a murmur, the most pinching wants; that great example will not have been held out in vain; and when we have in view to reconquer the independence of the seas; when we have in view to rescue and redeem commerce from the ruinous acts of piracy that are juridically exercised against it; when we have in view the vindication of the national honour, and the breaking down of those furcæ caudinæ which England is attempting to erect upon our coasts, the French people will support with the dignity and the courage that belong to their great character, the momentary sacrifices that are imposed upon their taste, their habits, and their industry. The commerce of Europe will soon, no doubt, be rescued from oppression. The interest of nations; the honour of sovereigns; the magnanimous resolutions of the most powerful of the allies of France; the power and wish of the hero who rules over us; the justice of a cause to which Heaven will grant its protection; every motive concurs to decide the contest; nor can its issue remain uncertain. Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my sincere esteem.——CRETET.

PORTUGAL.—*Additional Proclamation of the Prince Regent, previous to his embarkation, dated 26 Nov.*, 1807.

The governors whom I was pleased to nominate by my royal decree of this present date, to govern these kingdoms during my absence, will have the usual oaths administered to them by the cardinal patriarch, and will attend with all solicitude, vigilance and activity, in the administration of justice, distributing the same impartially, and maintaining a rigorous observance of the laws of this kingdom.—They will preserve to the natives all the privileges which had been granted to them by me and my royal predecessors.—The plurality of votes will decide on the reports the respective tribunals may lay before them, regulating themselves according to the laws and customs of the kingdom.—They will direct literary professions, offices of criminal and civil judicature and revenue, according to the forms heretofore practised by me.—They will protect the persons and properties of my loyal subjects, selecting for military occupations those who may be deemed worthy thereof.—They will endeavour to preserve to their utmost the tranquillity of this kingdom, to provide for the troops of the Emperor of the French and King of Italy good quarters, and to supply them with every thing they may require during their stay in this kingdom, averting all and every insult that may be perpetrated, and punishing with rigour any that may occur; maintaining always the good harmony

hich ought to be displayed to the armies nations with whom we find ourselves ted on the continent.—Should it by any currence happen, that any of the said go-nors are absent, a plurality of votes will ect a successor. I trust to your honour nd virtue, that my people will not suffer nconveniences during my absence; and uld it be God's will that I should return rtly to my kingdoms, that I may meet ry one contented and satisfied, reigning ong them that good order and tranquillity hich should exist among subjects who have endered themselves so worthy of my pa-ternal care.——Palace of our Lady of Ajuda, the 26th of Nov., 1807.——(Signed)—THE PRINCE.

The following are the principal members of the royal family of Portugal, who have embarked for the Brazils:—Maria Francisca Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal and Algarva, born December 17, 1734, married her uncle, Don Pedro III. King of Portugal, who died 25th May, 1806.—Juan Maria Joseph Lewis, Infant of Portugal, Prince Regent, born the 13th of May, 1767, and married June 9, 1785.—Charlotta Joachima, Infanta of Spain, and Princess of Brazil.—Maria Ann Francisca Josephina, sister of the Queen, born October 7, 1736.—Maria Francisca Benedictina, sister of the Queen, born July 24, 1756; married Joseph Francis Xavier, Prince of Brazil, who died the th September, 1788.

The following are the children of the nce Regent:—Don Antonio, Prince of ra, born August 12, 1798.—Michael, born October 26, 1802.—Maria The-a, born April 29, 1793.—Isabella Ma-Francisca, born May 19, 1797.—Maria ncisca, born April 22, 1800.—Isabella ria, born July 4, 1801.

NMARK.—*Answer of the Prince Royal to he Traders who wished to correspond with England. Dated 27th Nov.*, 1807, *t Copenhagen.*

I must acquaint the trade, that it is im-sible to modify the orders contained in publications of the 9th and 14th Sep-ber.—The King, in confining himself to sequestration of enemy's property, has e all that was in his power to assist those his subjects whose fortunes might fall o the hands of the English—He has even ceeded what so perfidious an enemy me-—Besides, nothing ought to chill the our of a noble vengeance: and the mer-nts may at once, by arming privateers, over their capital, and avenge the coun-and the king.—With respect to the re-establishment of a correspondence, that measure is incompatible with the orders given to break off all communication between England and the continent—We ought to reject such an idea in a country like Denmark, where laws are passed not for mere pleasantry, and to be broken. The king is not ignorant that measures demanded by the general welfare often injure the personal interests of some of his subjects; but the testimony of his conscience consoles him, having preserved as long as possible to his people the benefits of peace, and having altered his conduct only at the period when the most revolting aggression provoked the most vigorous resistance against a perfidious enemy.

AMERICAN STATES.—*Non-importation Act, passed 18th April,* 1806.—*Together with a Supplementary Act, passed about 10th Dec.* 1807.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that from and after the 15. of Nov. next it shall not be lawful to import into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any port or place situated in Great Britain or Ireland, or in any of the colonies or dependencies of G. Britain, any goods, wares, or merchandize, of the following descriptions, that is to say :—All articles of which leather is the material of chief value.—All articles of which silk is the material of chief value.—All articles of which hemp or flax is the material of chief value.—All articles of which tin or brass is the material of chief value, tin in sheets excepted.—Woollen cloths whose invoice prices shall exceed 5s. sterling per square yard.—Window glass, and all other manufactures of glass.—Silver and plated wares.—Paper of every description.—Nails and pikes.—Hats.—Clothing ready made.—Millinery of all kinds; and pictures and prints.—Nor shall it be lawful to import into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign port or place whatever, any of the above-mentioned goods, wares, or merchandize, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of G. Britain : or Ireland, or any of the colonies, or dependancies of Great Britain : provided, however, that no articles which shall within 15 months after the passing of this act be imported from any place beyond the Cape of Good Hope, on board any vessel cleared out before the passing of this act from any port within the United States or the territories thereof, for the said Cape of Good Hope, or any place

beyond the same, shall be subject to the prohibition aforesaid.—Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, that whenever any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, shall after the said 15th of Nov. next, be imported into the United States or the territories thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or shall, after the said 15th of Nov. next, be put on board any ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, with intention of importing the same into the United States, or the territories thereof, all such articles, as well as all other articles on board the same ship or vessel, boat, craft, or carriage, belonging to the owner of such prohibited articles, shall be forfeited, and the owner thereof shall moreover forfeit and pay treble the value of such articles.—Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, that if any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, shall, after the said 15th of Nov. next, be put on board any ship or vessel, boat, craft or carriage, with intention to import the same into the United States, or the territories thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and with the knowledge of the owner or master of such ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, shall be forfeited, and the owner or master thereof shall moreover each forfeit and pay treble the value of such articles.—Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, that if any article or articles the importation of which is prohibited by this act and which shall nevertheless be on board any ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, ariving after the said 15th of Nov. next, in the United States, or the territories thereof, shall be omitted in the manifest, report, or entry of the master or the person having the charge or command of such ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, or shall be omitted in the entry of the goods owned by the owner or consigned to the consignee of such articles, or shall be imported or landed, or attempted to be imported or landed, without a permit, the same penalties, fines, and forfeitures shall be incurred and may be recovered, as in the case of similar omission or omissions, landing importations or attempting to land or import, in relation to articles liable to duties on their importation into the United States.—Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, that every collector, naval officer, surveyor, or other officer of the customs, shall have the like power and authority to seize goods, wares, and merchandize imported contrary to the intent and meaning of this act, to keep the same in custody until it shall have been ascertained whether the same have been forfeited or not, and to enter any ship or vessel, dwelling-house, store, building, or other place, for the purpose of searching for and seizing any such goods, wares, or merchandize, which he or they now have by law in relation to goods, wares, and merchandize subject to duty; and if any person or persons shall conceal or buy any goods, wares, and merchandize, knowing them to be liable to seizure by this act, such person or persons shall on conviction thereof, forfeit and pay a sum double the amount of value of the goods, wares and merchandize so concealed or purchased.—Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, that the following addition shall be inserted to the oath or affirmation taken by the masters or persons having the charge or command of any ship or vessel arriving at any port of the United States, or the territories thereof, after the said 15th of Nov. next, viz. "I further swear (or affirm) that there is not to the best of my knowledge or belief, on board [insert the denomination and name of the vessel] any goods, wares, and merchandize, the importation of which into the United States, or the territories thereof, is prohibited by law: And I do further swear (or affirm) that if I shall hereafter discover or know of any such goods, wares, and merchandize on board the said vessel, or which shall have been imported in the same, I will immediately and without delay make due report thereof to the collector of the port of this district."—Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, that the following addition be inserted after the said 15th of Nov. next, to the oath or affirmation taken by importers, consignees or agents at the time of entering goods imported into the United States or the territories thereof, viz. "I also swear (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, amongst the said goods, wares, and merchandize, imported or consigned as aforesaid any goods, wares, or merchandize, the importation of which into the United States, or the territories thereof, is prohibited by law: And I do further swear (or affirm) that if I shall hereafter discover any such goods, wares or merchandize among the said goods, wares and merchandize, I will immediately and without delay report the same to the collector of this district."

(To be continued.)

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